

299  
*Deo Ecclesiae & Conscientiae Ergo :*

O R, A

# P L E A

For Abatement in

Matters of CONFORMITY,

To several Injunctions and Orders of the

## Church of England.

To which are added some Considerations of the Hypothesis of a King *de Jure* and *de facto*, proving that King *WILLIAM* is King of England, &c. as well of Right as Fact, and not by a bare Actual Possession of the Throne.

By *IRÆNEUS Junior*, a Conforming Member of the Church of England.

Τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ζυγὸν ἐπαγγέλλονται καὶ τρεῖς ἄνθρωποι τῶν μαθητῶν οὗ ὅτι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐχούμεθα βασιλεῖσαι. Acts 15. 20.

*Scripsi deo teste quod verum esse existimavi, non gratiam hominum, vel utilitatem propriam, sed Dei gloriam, & Ecclesiae commodum respiciens.* Bell. Recog.

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Dr. E. C. Johnson

OF THE  
P. L. E.  
A.

Church of England

The Church of England is the only  
Church in the world which has  
been recognized by the State  
as the official religion of the  
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MEMBER OF THE  
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# THE CONTENTS.

	Page
<b>O</b> <i>F the Surplice and Habits.</i>	11
<i>Of the Cross in Baptism.</i>	13
<i>Of Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.</i>	15
<i>Of the Liturgy or Church-service.</i>	18
<i>Of the Lords Prayer and Doxology.</i>	26
<i>Of Christs descent into Hell.</i>	28
<i>Of the Athanasian Creed.</i>	31
<i>Of Regeneration by the Spirit.</i>	34
<i>Of the Office of Burial of the Dead.</i>	36
<i>Of the Collects for the King, &amp;c.</i>	39
<i>Of Confirmation by the Bishop.</i>	40
<i>Of Ecclesiastical Discipline.</i>	42
<i>By whom the Seeds of Arbitrary Government have been sown.</i>	62
<i>Of the Reformation of Manners.</i>	80
<i>Advice to Dissenters.</i>	92

*Thefe*

These Papers having for some time been laid aside, their publication being (perhaps in a more proper season) accidentally prevented, are yet at last come to light, and born though out of due time. By reason of which some few passages may occur more pertinent to the time of their conception, than of their birth, which the Reader is desired to observe, and allow for; as also with his Pen to correct the following

## ERRATA.

**I**N the Preface, page 6. in the last line, for *facis* read [*facile*] p. 7. l. 41. r. [*shack*] p. 11. l. 10. add [*malum*] before the last e. p. 9. l. 20. r. [*far*] 37. r. [*Governours*] p. 10. l. 33. for *led*, r. [*misled*] p. 11. l. 29. r. [*Lictors*] l. 34. [*μύλα. δουλεύειν*] p. 16. l. 39. r. [*your tranquillity*]

P. 1. l. 23. before *evil* add [*a greater*] p. 4. l. 33. r. [*suddenly*] p. 5. l. 27. before *gain* blot out [*the*] p. 6. l. 24. r. [*very*] p. 11. l. 18. r. [*nuſance*] l. 24. r. [*ſtring*] p. 12. l. 13. r. [*nuſances*] p. 14. l. 34. blot out [*ſer*] and add it in the beginning of line 36. p. 16. last line r. [*tranſubſtantiation*] p. 17. l. 1. r. [*Hooker*] l. 10. r. [*Proteſt*] p. 20. margin r. [*unſatis*] p. 21. l. 2. r. [*organs*] l. 27. add [*was*] after *up*. p. 23. r. [*ſea*] in the margin. p. 26. l. 19. r. [*Wire*] l. 24. r. [*offices*] p. 28. l. 22. r. [*tertium*] p. 31. marg. r. [*voici*] l. 32. add [*eis*] p. 32. l. 8. r. [*convinced*] l. 32. r. [*Wire*] p. 33. l. 7. r. [*δουλον*] l. 30. r. [*κατασκευασειν*] p. 38. l. 26. r. [*paradiſe*] p. 40. l. 33. r. [*that*] p. 42. marg. r. [*eccleſiaſia*] p. 46. l. 24. r. [*calorom*] p. 47. l. 38. r. [*Tiping*] p. 49. l. 1. r. [*Nuſance*] l. 31. r. [*balance*] l. 40. r. [*Counſel*] p. 53. l. 14. r. [*lopping*] l. 25. r. [*another*] p. 59. l. 7. r. [*Wire*] p. 67. l. 6. r. [*ſenſe*] p. 68. the Citation out of *Aene. Sylv.* muſt be read at the bottom of the 67. page after 1684. p. 69. l. 26. after *diſpoſition* add *ſim* p. 71. marg. r. [*aſſerit*] p. 79. l. 27. r. [*ſeyu*] p. 80. l. 3. r. [*Nuſance*] l. 31. r. [*Cummin*] p. 81. at the end of the 28. l. add [*And*] p. 90. l. 4. r. [*Paradiſe*] p. 88. laſt l. r. [*Pretenſed*] p. 93. l. 31. r. [*Opinion*] p. 94. l. 22. r. [*loſt*] p. 95. l. 24. r. [*Anicetus*] l. 27. blot out [*it*] p. 96. l. 16. r. [*Counſel*]

Some few other Elſcapes there are, but not ſo material, as to take any other notice of them.

# THE PREFACE.

**A**S Truth is a most pleasing Object, and grateful to the Understanding of Man, so he must have a vitiated and depraved Palate, who cannot taste and see how good the Churches peace is, nor relish those means and measures which are conducive to so great and eminent an end. For the attainment of which we may be encouraged to believe the ensuing Plea to be no unfit expedient; upon the consideration of those Powers and Faculties which since the Late Revolution His present Majesty (whom God preserve) hath granted to so many Wise and Worthy Members of our Church, to revise its Liturgy, to inspect our Ecclesiastical Polity, and to report such Alterations and Amendments as they should judge necessary for the Healing of our Breaches, and uniting of Dissenting Protestants. A project becoming the forecast of so Wise and Great a Prince, who had so much good-will towards Men, as to design Settlement and Peace on Earth: But we have winkt too hard to see the things which concern them; yea, many there be of that Intemperate Zeal, and fiery Indignation, wherewith they would devour their Adversaries; as to tell us, That tho our pretences be faced with Conscience, yet they are lined with Schism and Sediton; as true, and yet deceivers; these, say they, are such who set up for Peace, whilst they meditate and forecast War in their Hearts; talking of Union whilst they themselves break the Bond of Peace, dissolve the Unity of the Spirit, and deface the Uniformity of the Church. Could these Men have procured Fire from Heaven, the World by this time had been in a Flame: Nor could our Doom have been any thing better than that, to which the angry Disciples would have sentenced the *Samaritanes*, yea, executed upon them, had not our Saviour restrained their Zeal, and rebuked their Passion.

As to our secret Reservations, or Hypocrisie, we only desire our liberty till they can disprove our sincerity, and to condemn us before, is an hard Censure. The advice St. Paul gives, I think, is worth the taking, 1 Cor. 4. 5. *Judge nothing before the time, till the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the Counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.*

## The PREFACE.

As for the usual Raillery wherewith those who were weary and heavy laden have been treated, we refer to him who will judge the false and slanderous Tongue.

That Ignorance and Malice are the Spirits by which our Wheels are acted, is the frequent charge of Uncharitable and Conceited men, who take their Tongues to be their own, using both them, and others with them, at their pleasure. But what are we better than our Fathers, who met with no less despite, nor ought we to make any worse returns than they? [*We are fools for Christ (saith St. Paul) but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised; — being reviled we bless, being persecuted we suffer it, being defamed we intreat.*] But how wonderful must the retaliating Providence of God be, that no small number of those who have bantred, and bespattered us for our pretence of Conscience, are now driven to the same Plea for their dissent from our present Constitution and Government: *This is the Lord's doing, and 'tis marvellous in our eyes*: Which justifies the Truth and Reason of our Argument, which a late Reverend (a) Bishop urged in the like case. *It is, saith he, such a doctrine, that if there be variety in Human Affairs, if the event of things be not settled in a durable consistence, but is changeable, every one of us all may have need of it.* Behold this day are these words fulfilled in our Ears.

1 Cor. 4. 13.

(a) Dr. Taylor.

Those whose Nest seemed to be built upon a Rock, yea, placed among the Stars, too high to be reached; too strong like Mount *Sion* ever to be removed, have lived to see their honour levelled with the dust. [*How are they fallen from heaven? how are they cast down to the ground that did weaken the nations.*] Nor is the wisdom and love of God less conspicuous in that part of our Revolution, which gave so happy a reverse of Fortune to our Dissenting, and not long since Afflicted Brethren, turning all their sorrow into joy, and mourning into a good day?

\* Unacademq;  
manus vulnus  
aperius tulit.

In which the conduct and method of Divine Providence is very admirable, by breaking off the Yoke with those \* hands which imposed it. The Act of Liberty, or Indemnity, from the penalty of the Laws for Uniformity, &c. being passed by the same Authority, viz. King and Parliament, by Persons whose addictions and practices as to the same Form of Worship no way differed from theirs, who so strictly obliged us to one general and uniform (but scrupled) Scheme of Religion. Yet have been so kind and considerate of those who are weak in the Faith, as not to tie them to matters of doubtful Disputation, but have given a yieldance, and pardon'd them in those things whereof their Consciences were afraid. Should they who had been so long trampled under foot have got into the Saddle, whither would they have rode? How would they have triumphed over those that oppressed them? Root and Branch, Branch and Rush, ere this might have been the word, and nothing to have given satisfaction, but an utter extirpation, or excision of those that troubled them.

But

## The PREFACE.

V

But the Judge of all the Earth took a better course of doing right, than to put the injured Parties, into a capacity of revenging the wrongs they had suffered. Such was the wisdom of him, who is a Physician of the greatest value, and knew best how to work the Cure, not by shedding the Patients Blood, but by alteration; allaying the Acrimony of the Humours, changing the disposition and temper of our Superiours, into a more kind and compassionate regard of an harassed and afflicted people. These wisely considering, that force was no proper Topick for persuasive Arguments; that their raking Medicines did but torment the Patient, and inrage the Distemper, contrived a more gentle method, and have learnt *saxxiter curare*; I mean, to cure the hurt of the Daughter of our People more softly and substantially, binding up, the broken-hearted, and proclaiming liberty to the Captive.

Compulsion is a Quiver which affords many a sharp Arrow, but such as seldom hits the mark, Arguments which prove very little of the Question, whilst they too plainly demonstrate the Zeal and Passion of the Disputant.

These worthy Patriots standing upon the Shoulders of their Predecessors, learnt better, and saw further into the nature of Religion; That 'tis a Plant which never thrives in an hot Bed. A thing which must be profest (a) freely and without force. *Religio sponte non videtur suscipi*, saith *Tertullian*. For indeed how can the (b) Will embrace any thing as good; which the understanding does not represent as Truths? And for a Man to assent to what he knows not, is to invert the order of Nature, and to act contrary to the Rules of his Constitution; which is as hard to do, as for Water to ascend higher than the Fountain, or original from whence it flows.

on. 'Tis a Light to its Feet, and Lamthorn to its Paths. 'Tis a thing no way pleasing to God to put a force upon the Consciences of Men. Services or Sacrifices which are offered by constraint, and not of a willing mind, are never acceptable to God, seldom, if ever, serviceable to Men. *Emanuel King of Portugal* was condemned by the 4th Council of *Tollet*. for taking the Children of the *Jews* by force from their Parents, and Baptizing them.

If a Person doubts of the Truth of a Proposition, constraint or threatening can never clear the scruples, or resolve the doubts he labours under. And tho' he may be frighted into a compliance, yet his assent is the effect of Force, not Faith. Such a Profelyte is a direct Hypocrite; who like a broken Bow is ready upon all occasions to start aside, and will stand bent no longer than the Cord holds which strains it, or the force lasts which is upon it. So that it seems no way conducive to the Interest of Ecclesiastical Politicks to use Engines to screw Members into their Communion, who will prove no better than false Brethren, that will be apt to undermine their

(a) *Si princeps subditos opinionum varietate & multitudinis sectarum distractos, in suam [scil. Religionem] pertrahere velit, vim amovet oportet, nam quo graviora supplicia irrogabis, eo minus proficies, cum ea sit in hominibus vis ac natura, ut ad aliquid assentiendum sponte duci velint, cogi nolint.*

(b) *La volonté est née pour suivre l'entendement: comme son guide, son flambeau: Chorr. de Sagess. 'Tis the nature of the Will to follow the Understanding as its guide and direction.*

their Liberties, and turn Renegades so soon as they have opportunity to desert the Tents of the Church.

Carnal Weapons are an improper Artillery for a Spiritual Warfare; fiery Darts belong to the wicked one, and like the Author of them are false, yea, inconclusive Arguments of the truth, and no way sufficient to decide any questionable part of it.

Had the *Jacobine* and *Franciscan* Friars been burnt who proffered themselves to the Stake, to prove *pro* and *con*, that *Savonarola* was an Heretick, their fiery Zeal might have argued much heat, but would have afforded no light to their Cause.

The Protestants of *France* pleaded with their King for Indulgence, because it was not the Will of God that the Consciences of Men should be forced. *Parce cause, demande des hommes une Sacrifice volontaire, & qu'il ne vienne pas qu'on force les consciences.* Dr. Burn. Collect. Letters. P. 228.

Besides, the Victory we gain'd over our Dissenting Brethren in causing some of them to conform, could never answer our ends, or refund for those Breaches we have made of Charity, in prosecuting them for their dissent, we did *magnò conatu nihil agere*. The distance was as great, and Schism as inveterate as ever. 'Tis true the Scourges (which we made of no small Cords) drove some of them into the Temple, or publick Assemblies, but could never drive out the Spirit of Inconformity; when the Curb was in their Mouths they bit the Bridle, and kick'd at those who held the Whip over them, but never became more flexible to the Reign. The *French* King hath Dragoon'd several of his Protestant Subjects into an outward compliance with the Popish Religion, but is so insecure of the reality of the effect, that he thinks himself obliged to keep a strict band over them, and watchful Eye upon them.

(c) Lib. de  
republ. 4<sup>to</sup>. p.  
757.

(c) Bodin observes, That tho' Princes exercised great Cruelties towards their Subjects, yet till the days of *Antiochus* there was no Tyrannizing over the Minds and Consciences of Men. *Nunquam tamen hominum mentibus ante regem Antiochum imperandum sibi fas esse putaverunt.* Nay, so favourable was he himself in the Case of Religion, (whatever he was afterwards) that in the Siege of *Jerusalem* he granted Eight days Truce to the *Jews* to Celebrate the Feast of the Passover.

pag. 753.

(d) Cujus rei cum multa sunt argumenta, tum vero nullum ad hanc rem accommodatius quam de Theodosio majore qui in eunte imperio provincias Arrianorum plenas reperit, &c.

Voluit imperator Arrianos (quos tamen capitaliter oderat) ullis suppliciis coerceri, sed utriusque Arrianis inquam & Catholicis, sua templa concessit, & in singulis oppidis duos utriusque religionis pontifices permixsit. Ac tam etsi Catholicorum Pontificum rogationibus, edicta quadam adversus Arrianos promulgari jussisset, facis tamen irrita esse passus est, ut ipsius ad Ambrosium literæ demonstrant. Lib. 4. de republ.

Major, tho' an utter Enemy to the *Arrians*, yet allowed

lowed



Iow'd them the free exercise of their Religion, permitting them to have their publick Temples and Ministers to officiate in every City. And tho' by the earnest solicitations of some Churchmen he was prevail'd upon to publish some Edicts against them, yet he easily permitted them to be superseded; for in his Letter to St. *Ambrose*, he commanded him to deliver the principal Church to the *Arrians*, for faith he, All are at my dispose. *Trade inquit Arrianis basilicam; mei namq; sunt omnia juris.*

But suppose he had been exceedingly mad upon his Subjects, and had vexed them out of their Religion, or at least the profession of it; yet he could not vex them out of their understanding also; for tho' force be a powerful Argument, yet it hath always been too weak to beget Faith, or any true Sons of the Church. Which in all her accounts hath but a small reckoning to make of any considerable perquisite gained by the strictest exercise of her Discipline and Authority, over the Consciences of scrupulous, but good Men.

Nay, the very Civil Interests of States and Princes have shrunk and shrivelled, yea, dried up from the very Roots, which have been planted in those hot and scorching Climates, I mean, where Persecution for Religion and Conscience sake, hath prevailed. How Bloody a War did the cruel and despitelful dealings with the *Hugonots* upon these accounts produce in *France*, untill the very Spirit of the Nation failed in the midst of it?

So Zealous was the Duke *d'Alva* to maintain the Romish Faith in the *Netherlands*, that he cruelly oppress'd the people, and mightily convinc'd them by the pressing Arguments of Fire and Faggot.

Yea, where-ever Scripture and Reason proved scant, the Inquisition was urg'd as the strongest perswasive they had for their Religion, which caus'd those Flames, that not only made the Daughter of *Sion* to sit in Ashes, but fired their Religion and Prince too out of the Countrey.

I am not willing to Sacrifice to this Net for the Commotions and Troubles in *Scotland*. The Civil Wars of *England*, in the days of King *Charles*, which not only overthrew the Government of the Church, but rased the very Foundation of our Politick Constitution. Yet after a long and Bloody War, which for the space of Seven Years had turn'd our Land into an *Aceldama*, broaching that Bloody Issue which the best Physicians of the State knew not how to Cure, till it had wast'd the very Vitals of our Land. After a Twelve Years *Inter-tegnum*, when Men did that which was right in their own Eyes, it pleas'd God to restore our Judges as at the first, and Councillors as in the beginning. The wild Asses (to be sure) which had so long snuff up the Wind, kick'd up the Heel, enjoying a free and unbounded shock, a liberty to feed where, and what they pleas'd, thought nothing more grievous than a confinement. The un-rained Heifers having been so long unaccustomed to the Yoke, knew not how to submit to it, or suffer it to pass over their sore Necks; especially those,

## The PREFACE.

those, who as they had been instrumental in restoring the King, so desired an indulgence only upon terms easie to be granted, and some small Abatements of Conformity. Instead of which the burthen was made heavier, and bound with Ropes that were never before occupied, I mean, new Laws and stricter Ties to oblige them to obedience, which could not but be entertained with a regret not only proportionable to their late, and long possessed freedom, but to the many specious Promises they had obtained, and great hopes they had thence conceived, of some kind and favourable Dispensations in some controverted and scrupled Parts, or Ceremonies of Religion. But notwithstanding all, they were more narrowly watched, more nicely observed, and more strictly punished, than ever before.

All Tears of Complaint were but like Waters spilt upon the ground, the returns which were made being often rough and unkind. *By the Life of Pharaoh ye are no true men, but to spy out our Liberty are ye come,* and to betray the Church; our Fathers made your Yoke heavy, but we will add to it. But may we not apply the words of the Psalmist in this case? *This their way was their folly, but their posterity hath not approved their sayings, Psalm 49. 13.* Such have been the Wisdom and Compassion of our Superiours as to speak kindly, and deal gently with our Dissenting Brethren, who in two succeeding Parliaments have settled and recognized their Liberties, or indemnified them from the penalties of those Laws, to which they stood obnoxious, raising up a Gourd which have secured them from those scorching Beams which lay too hot, too heavy upon them. They answered their desires kindly, and spake good words to them, by which they have obliged them to be their \* Votaries and Friends for ever. They have taken care that there be no decay nor leading into Captivity; no complaining in our Streets, nor oppression in our Gates for Conscience sake. † Now the *Wolf may dwell with the Lamb, the Leopard may lye down with the Kid, &c. the sucking Child may play on the hole of the Asp, and the weaned Child shall put his hand on the Cockatrice den. They shall no more hurt nor destroy in all our holy mountain.*

But yet we cannot go to the House of God in Company, nor there take sweet Counsel together. How happy were it if the Partition-wall were broken down, or so wide a Door made in it, that we might go in and out, and find rest to our Souls; that every thing were cut off which troubles the Church, and which are as Goats in the Side, and Thorns in the Eye of Conscience?

Obj.

It is not Conscience but Ignorance, and that wilful too, when after the plain and plentiful Informations we have received, we continue pertinacious, refusing instruction, and hating knowledge, by which we are justly fore-closed both as to pardon and pity. *Qui vult decipi decipiat.*



# The P R E F A C E.

ix

A wilful obftinacy is a fin of a Scarlet Dye, and Crimfon Tincture, *Ref.*  
 [ If we fin wilfully after we have received the knowledge of the Truth, Heb. 10. 26.  
 there remains no more Sacrifice, or Atonement for fin, ] the higheft Re-  
 fentments both of God and Man, are very juft Retributions for fo unpar-  
 donable a guilt. But as the ftain is deep, fo as to the nature of it, 'tis  
 fo reclude and (e) cryptical, that many times God only  
 knows whether thofe we accufe be guilty or not. And  
 to condemn a Man for that which is fcarce to be un-  
 derftood, but by the Confeflion of the Party, upon  
 fome flight or prefumptive Evidence, is to conclude  
 more than the premifes will prove ; which is both Ille-  
 gal and Illogical.

(e) Crimes which make a Man  
 an Heretick in Questions not fim-  
 ply Fundamental, are Actions fo  
 Internal and Spiritual that cog-  
 nizance can feldom be taken of  
 them. *Lib. of Proph. 286. p.*

Befides Arguments may in themfelves be convincing and powerful,  
 yet through the weaknefs of our Faculties we may not difcover the Evi-  
 dence they carry along with them. Shall we blame the Perfon for his  
 miftake, who tells us, That he fees Men walk like Trees, becaufe the  
 Object is in a due pofition, the medium well difpofed, and fully inlight-  
 ned, when the indifpofition of the Organs, and weaknefs of the vifive  
 Faculty, is the true caufe of the mifrepresentation. This is a Parable,  
 but the defign of it lies fo fleet, that we need not dive for to underftand  
 it. Perhaps fome will fay, In this thou reproacheft us alfo. But I hope  
 I have faid nothing to give offence to any juft or good Man, and for  
 others, *jacta mihi eft alea*. But if any thing have dropt from my Pen in  
 any part of this Difcourfe which had better have been forborn, I fhall  
 not difpife a Reproof ; *Let the righteous fmite me, it fhall be a kindnefs,*  
*an excellent Oyl, which fhall not break my head*. In the mean time I can fa-  
 tisfy my felf with the integrity of my aim, as having fpoke what I efteem  
 to be Truth, intending nothing but forbearance of thofe who are weak,  
 binding up the Broken-hearted, promoting the Peace, Union, and In-  
 terelt of the Church of Chrift, I befeech you forgive me thefe wrongs.

But were it not then the wifeft and fafeft Courfe, for fuch as are not  
 fo quick-fighted, to be led by thofe who can fee further, and difcern bet-  
 ter than themfelves ?

*Quæft.*

'Tis great wifdom for men to obferve the Conduct of our Spiritual  
 Guides, to obey thofe that have the rule over them in the Lord, and  
 fubmit. St. Cyprian (f) afcribes the Schifms of the  
 Church to a difrefpect of their Governments. We  
 have been too ready to fay to thofe whom God hath  
 fet over us, ( who have *curam & regimen Ecclefie* ) ye  
 take too much upon you, feeing all the Congregation  
 are holy, every one of them. Yet Man is not like a  
 Bruit Beaft which hath no underftanding. I am not

*Ref.*

(f) *Quod ſacerdoti Dei non  
 obtemperatur. Cyp. Epift. Cor.  
 For. & Feli.* And in the enſu-  
 ing Tract you'll find with what  
 Zeal St. Ignatius preſſeth the  
 people to be obedient to their  
 Biſhops and Presbyters.

( a )

of

## The PREFACE.

(e) Quand il S'agit de la religion, & que la Seule regle infallible à laquelle on doit S'attacher est l'autorité de l'Eglise pour laquelle on doit une obeissance aveugle & sans restriction.

Né disputer jamais de mysteres & points de la religion, mais simplement croire, recevoir & observer, ce que l'Eglise enseigne & ordonne. Char. de Sageſſe. We must not dispute the Mysteries and Points of Religion, but must simply believe, receive and observe that which the Church Declares and Ordains.

of (g) his Mind who saith, *That the only infallible Rule to which we must adhere, is the Authority of the Church to which we ought to pay a blind Obedience without reserve.* But if we wink so hard, and shut our Eyes so close, it will be hard to see or know how to chuse a Guide, or when we have chosen him to follow him. Must we give up the Care and Conduct of our Souls to we know not who, or may we look before we leap? If so, then we must first examine the Doctrine which is taught us before we can own, or follow the guidance of that Church, or the Ministers of it, tho they pretend to have a rule and dominion over us. *St. Paul* commended the *Bereans* for examining the Doctrines taught by him and *Silas*, and for seeing whether they were so or not. And counselled none to follow him any further, than he follow'd Christ; and *that if he or an Angel from*

*heaven taught any other Doctrine than what they had received they should be accursed.* Should we take every thing for granted, which they who pretend to be the only true and Catholick Church, and to have the greatest Power and Authority upon Earth, have delivered to the Saints as matter of Faith, there must be some other Gospel than what we have received, somewhere immured or shut up in some Wall, in some secret place, like the Law in *Josiah's* time, not yet come to light. In the mean time let us follow the light of that Gospel we have received, and by a judgment of discretion try whatever is enjoyn'd us, *For as many as walk by this Rule, peace shall be upon them.*

A Mans own private Reason and Judgment is that Bar and Ballance in which he must weigh, and at which he must examine his Actions; the last Dictate of the Understanding is the most extreme and natural Guide of the Will, be the Dictate true or false. *Uniuscujusq; Christiani (saith Polanus) est spiritus ille ad privatam doctrinæ probationem & dijudicationem, in conscientia ipsius.* And to follow that, is the best and safest way, tho sometimes I may be led by it. We have not to do with an hard Master, who will punish us because we act not by higher Principles of Wisdom and Knowledge, than he hath given us.

Bishop *Davenant* saith, That all our Divines affirm, that every Christian who hath any regard of his Soul, ought to reduce the Decrees of Faith to the Rule of Faith, [*viz.* the Scripture] and so far to admit them as they understand they agree with that (h) Rule. He doth not say, so far as they agree, but so far as they apprehend or understand them to agree. So that we owe obedience to them who have the rule over us, yet not exclusive of, much less contrary to the light of our own Reason and Discretion. Let us hear *B. Taylor's* opinion in our case. [Every Man, saith he, is Bound to follow his Guide, unless where he believes his Guide

(h) Atque etiam admitte-  
re quatenus ad  
eandem [scil.  
normam fidei]  
convenire in-  
telliguntur.  
Dave. de jud.  
& norm. fidei.

# The PREFACE.

xi

Guide to mislead him, yet when he sees Reason against his Guide, it's best to follow his Reason against his Guide, for tho in this he may fall into an Error, yet he will escape sin, he may do violence to the Truth, but never to his Conscience, and an honest Error is better than a violent luxation to his Understanding. ]

Aquinas saith, That Will is bad which disagreeeth with Reason, be that Reason true or false. And the Reason which he hath given, is because that which is good hath the form of evil, and that which is evil hath the form of good. *Voluntas discordans à ratione sive recta sive errante est mala. Id enim quod bonum est potest accipere rationem mali, & id quod est potest accipere rationem boni.* 2. 2. q. 19. ar. 5.

What Hobs saith is truth, though it may be received with prejudice, as coming out of his Mouth, That a Man may offend in doing good, if at the same time he apprehends it as evil; on the contrary he may be accepted, or at least pardoned in doing a bad thing, if he apprehends it to be good and innocent. And why may I not put the Opinion of the Philosopher into this Scale, who I think had well weighed it himself? *Incontinentis est qui non sequitur rationem rectam, per accidens autem qui non sequitur rationem falsam.*

Homo potest violare legem alia legi consentaneo vir si homo putet se facere contrarium legi. De civi. P. 58.

Mr. Chillingworth saith, If the Church commands things. and judge them fit to be done, yet every Man is to judge for himself with the Judgment of discretion. Otherwise we may do with our Reason and discursive Faculties as the Priest did with the Sword of Goliath, wind them up, and lay them by as useles things. For a Dog is as capable of a Law as a Man, if there be no choice in his obedience, nor discourse in his choice, nor reason to satisfy his discourse. And 'tis as unreasonable as 'tis unnatural, that *Sempronius* should force *Cains* to be of his Opinion, because *Sempronius* is Consul this Year, and commands the Lectors; as if he that can kill a Man, cannot but be infallible, if he be not, why should he do violence to my Conscience because he can do violence to my Person? But what need we any further Witnesses, tho a Cloud of them might be produced to clear this Truth? Let the Authority of the Apostle serve for all, who enjoins us *parva sonare*, to try all things, and to hold fast that which is right. But if the Doctrine of Blind obedience were true, it would supersede all this trouble, we need not weary our selves with searching the Scriptures, and digging for Knowledge and Understanding. We might live at a great deal more ease, if God required of us only to do this and live; that is to obey the commands of our Superiors without any examination how they are agreeable to his own; then the Magistrates Lips should preserve Knowledge, give Laws, and the people must seek them at their Mouths, Then we should have nothing to do but to give an unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing which is enjoined, were the Laws of Conformity ten times more than they are. And like Pills might be swallowed without tasting whether

Lib. of Proph

I Thes. 5. 21

# The PREFACE.

ther they be sweet or bitter. But till these things can be proved, or our scruples satisfied, we hope our Superiors will not be offended, though our ensuing Plea be urged, and Address continued.

We know well that we are bound to be obedient to our Governors, not only for wrath but Conscience sake. And that we owe a Duty to our Civil as well as Natural Parents; That we must pay an observance to their Commands, lest we receive to our selves Damnation.

But must we pay this Respect and Duty to our Civil Parents or Princes where ever our Lot falls, or we happen to be Born, either *Turky, Italy, Jerusalem, or Geneva?* If this were true we might safely be *Jew or Turk, Papist or Protestant*, we might cast Lots for our Religion, or change it with our Cline. *Et Cælum, ac animum muet qui transmare currit.* I know none so wild as to pretend to assert this, for then the Laws of God must give place to the Customs or Constitutions of every Place or Countrey in which we live. But if otherwise, then I may try the Spirits, and examine their Commands, that I may see whether they agree or not with that Law, which is Superior to all humane Sanctions, and an absolute Rule of Truth. To do which, I know no better expedients than reading, reasoning, advising, conferring with Persons of great Wisdom and Understanding, and especially, praying to be led by that Spirit of Truth, which leads into all Truth. But to give a blind obedience to every Command of the Magistrate, is a Doctrine fitted more for Brutes than Rational Creatures, for we may as easily believe that every thing he touches is Gold, as that every thing which is required by him is just, and ought to be believed as Truth. This is I confess somewhat contrary to the advice which (k) *Arundel* Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave to *William Thorp*, That he ought not to suppose a Prelate would command an unlawful thing—— But if it were unlawful, yet he obeying him should not answer for it before God. But this good Man durst not rely upon the Bishops Warranty, nor any other wise Man whatever, so long as he is able to judge whether God, or Man is first to be obeyed.

It would be a very weak Plea for a Subject to plead the Command of an Inferior Officer in the Commonwealth, in excuse of a Treasonable or Seditious Action, before the Supreme Magistrate in Bar of his Sentence; and shall we give that to the King of Heaven, which we think unreasonable to offer to our Prince, and venture to make more bold with God than Man?

But we are leavened with Prejudice which we suckt in with our Milk, and were tainted with from our Cradles; our Palates are vitiated and pre-occupied, so that we cannot taste nor see the Beauty, Excellency,

(k) AEs. and  
Monum. 1st.  
Vol. p. 613.  
Edit. 1624.

## The P R E F A C E.

xiii

lency, and Decency, which are the real Properties of the Rites and Ceremonies, &c. commanded by our Church.

This is to beg the Question, and to condemn without proof. But suppose it to be Truth, yet a kind and indulgent Parent will not oblige a willing and obedient Child to feed upon a Dish (tho it be both wholesome and toothsome too) if his Palate cannot relish it, nor Stomach digest it. But would rather leave it to the choice of such as come to Table to take or refuse it. Were but the same Charity used now, which St. Paul recommended to the Brethren, nay, which our own Church hath propounded to be observed in some parts of Conformity, our Work were ended, and the ensuing Plea rendered useless and superseded. I mean that of the Convocation held in the Year 1640. speaking of the Custom of Bowing in Token of Reverence of God \* when we come in the Place of Publick Worship, faith thus. [ In the practice or admission of this Rite, we desire that the Rule of Charity prescribed by the Apostle may be observed, which is, that they who use this Rite, despise not those who use it not; and they who use it not, condemn not them who use it. ] And I cannot understand why the same Latitude or Charity might not be granted in the other scrupled parts of Conformity.

Ref.

\* The like Liberty is left as to Bowing at the Name of Jesus.

Let's hear what that Excellent and Learned Man Mr. *Chillingworth* hath spoken to our purpose, viz. [ Thanksgiving, reading of Scriptures, Prayer, Confession in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a Liturgy, though nothing either of private Opinion, or of Church Pomp, Garments, or prescribed Gestures, of Imagery, of Musick, of Matter concerning the Dead, of many Superfluities, which creep into the Church, under the Name of Order and Decency, did interpose it self. ]

Now tho we should admit that many may be over-born by too great prejudices, against things of this nature, yet I wish it might by our Superiours be considered, how far notwithstanding they may be indulged and favoured whilst they own the Doctrine of the Church, and are very unwilling to make a breach in its Communion.

[ In all the Controversies of Protestants (saith the last-named Author) there is a seeming Conflict of Reason with Reason, Scripture with Scripture, Authority with Authority, which how it can consist with a manifest revealing of the Truth of either side, I cannot well understand. Besides, tho we grant, that Scripture, Reason and Authority were all on one side, and the appearances on the other side all answerable, yet if we consider the strange power that Education

cation and Prejudices instilled by it, have over excellent Understandings, we may well imagine that many Truths, which in themselves, are revealed plain enough, are yet to such or such a Man prepossessed with contrary Opinions not revealed plainly. Neither doubt I but God who knows whereof we are made, and what Passions we are subject to, will Compassionate such Infirmities, and not enter into Judgment with us, for those things, which (all things considered) are unavoidable. ] May our Mother the Church, imitate our Father which is in Heaven in the like Charitable Consideration and Allowance.

I thank God I never had any Addiction or Inclination to the Romish Faith or Religion, yet have had so much Charity for the Professors of it, as not to think they have generally sinned wilfully against their Knowledge, and Belief of the Truth. Yet 'tis hardly possible to have plainer Scripture, or clearer Reason, than are pleadable against many Propositions and Parts of it.

For instance, how contrary to Divine Institution (on which the Sacraments are founded) practice of the Apostles, and usage of the Primitive Church is their half Communion, and denial of the Cup to the Laity. Our Saviour giving command to the Disciples not only to eat, but to drink also of the Cup of Blessing.

*Obj.* But they were Ministers of the Church, and so not to be accounted as Lay-men.

*Ref.* If they were, yet they were *ministri non conficientes*, and so according to their own practice were not to have received the Communion but in one kind; for were there never so many of the Clergy present at that Sacrament, he only that Consecrates receives in both kinds, all the rest but in one.

What need I instance in St. Paul's Celebration of it in the Church of *Corinth*, who delivering of the same according as he had received it from our Saviour, advised them not only to eat of that Bread, but also to drink of that Cup. Otherwise the unworthy Receivers, tho they might have eat, yet could not have drunk Damnation to themselves, which he cautions them against.

What need I instance in their Celebration of the Publick Service in a Tongue the People don't understand, a thing beyond the compass of the Churches Authority and Power, which is only given them for Edification, and not for Destruction?

Whether it was revealed to the Apostle what Errors would creep into the Church in the succeeding Ages of it, I know not, yet I am sure if they were, he could not have spoke \* more pertinently, argued more closely,



closely, or disputed more rationally against that unaccountable practice, and rule of their Church. And yet so strong and strange are those prepossessions and prejudices, with which their early, and constant Education in that Communion hath tinged them, that they know not how to receive the plain meaning, and unavoidable sense (as we would think) of that Divine portion of Scripture.

But how vastly different is their Case and ours? Since the Scene of our Dispute lyes only in the Suburbs, or Outworks of Religion? The Question not being concerning the Ark or the Altar, the Tabernacle or the Temple; but rather, whether the Snuffers and the Snuffing-dishes, the Forks and the Spoons, be of pure Gold or not? Which not only renders our mistakes (if they be such) in themselves more venial, but with our Superiors more pardonable, yet notwithstanding we are obliged to observance in the smallest things, under the greatest and most severe penalties the Church can inflict, viz. Suspension, Deprivation, Excommunication, interdicting the Fellowship and Communion of the Saints, and denying the Evangelical Passover to all that esteem the Herbs sours which are appointed to be eaten with it. In which case we may use the words of the Poet.

*Nimum feritatis in illo est,  
Est aliud levius fulmen, &c.*

St. Austin thought it an unworthy thing to Censure or Condemn one another for those things which no way recommend us to God. *Indignum est, ut propter ea, quæ nos Deo neque digniores neque indigniores possunt facere alii alios vel condemnemus, vel judicemus.*

'Tis very well observed by a Conforming Member of our Church, [That our Differences are not so great, as to exclude the opposite Parties from being made Members of one (1) Church Militant, and Joint-heirs of Glory in the Church Triumphant.]

(1) Dr. Potter asserts that no Man who believes the Creed, and all the evident Consequences of

it sincerely and heartily, cannot possibly (if he also believes the Scripture) be in any Error of simple Belief, which is offensive to God, nor therefore deserves to be deprived of his Life, or to be cut off from the Churches Communion, or Hope of Salvation.

But the Crime is Contumacy against the Commands of our Rulers, than which there can be no greater Sin, and for which there ought to be assigned no less Punishment. *Obj.*

Is an awful regard of the Supreme Lawgiver, a Contempt to Humane Power and Magistracy, to which we give all just respect and deference where we suppose we may, without intrenching upon the Divine Authority, which is Paramount to any Dominion upon Earth? Were it a pure despight to Authority, it would appear in other things as well as these Ceremonies of Religion, we give Fear *Ref.*

## The PREFACE.

to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, nor can there be any occasion found against us, unless it be concerning the Law of our God; and if we do not pay an actual obedience to some of those Injunctions, which we fear are Intrenching upon the Divine Sanctions; we are not guilty of Contumacy or Disobedience to Magistracy, unless by accident, it being a thing which is neither designed, nor without injury to weak Consciences to be avoided; whilst we continue in the Communion of the Church, not daring to make any Schism in it, or separation from it. As to the design of this undertaking, I shall add nothing more, but stand to the Mercy of every Man's Opinion. To be sure it could not be Interest, or Secular Advantage, for I believe too many will think, if it be (m) pardoned, 'twill be beyond its desert rewarded. Tho the Church (I am of Opinion) may thank her Preferments for the extreme Zeal of many of her Votaries in the Case of Conformity. The Roman Clergy had never stickled so earnestly to have advanced their Bishop above the Council, if the latter could have given Dignities as well as the former. The Whore of *Babylon* ne're wanted Pledgers, whenever she drank to them out of her Golden Cup, whatever Abominations 'twas filled with.

But I am afraid I have transgressed the Rules of proportion in framing so wide a Gate to so straight a Fabrick, spinning the Preface too much beyond the Staple. Yea perhaps, may have foretalled the Reader, and in some things anticipated the ensuing Argument. Yet cannot conclude till I have recommended it to those in Authority; that they would consider such as are still pressed down under the same Burthens, and forc'd to draw in an unequal Yoke. That they would put the Tears of their Complaint into their Bottles, and that they may be no longer like Water spilt upon the ground, nor always driven to eat our Passover with bitter Herbs.

God delights not in grieving the Children of Men, but makes his ways pleasant, and his paths peace. Let us beseech you (who have wisdom to judge of, and power to redress our grievances) by the Mercies of God in general, and our late unparallel'd Deliverance in particular, by which he hath saved us out of the hands of our Enemies, that we might serve him without fear. That you would imitate the Divine Providence in breaking every Yoke, loosing every Burthen, and letting the oppressed go free. Permit me to speak with the words of the Prophet in his advice to the King. [Wherefore let my counsel be acceptable to you, break off your sins by repentance, and your iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor, if it may be a lengthning out of the tranquillity;] which is my Heart's Desire and Prayer to God, both for Church and State.

Dan. 4. 27.



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*A P L E A for Abatement in Matters of  
Conformity to several Injunctions and Orders  
of the Church of E N G L A N D, &c.*

**I**F the many earnest and repeated Promises of Persons in extremity can lay an Obligation of Performance upon them, to pay their Vows whenever they become solvend; How many are there of no small Figure and Interest in our Church, under no mean tie to find out an expedient and temper to heal those Breaches, cement those Schisms, which several bandied and controverted Rites and Ceremonies of the Church have unhappily occasioned? How many Families in this Quarrel have been ruined? How many Garments rolled in Blood (not excepting his who sate upon the Throne?) What Blood and Treasure have been spilt and spent in their defence, can be easier lamented than counted? Nor is the Nature of them grown less prolifick or productive of Distractions amongst us, they being almost the only Bones which makes us snarle at, yea bite and devour one another.

So zealous are we to maintain the Fence that is made about them, that we neglect the main Bank which keeps out the most raging Waves of the Sea of Rome. I mean Popery and Arbitrary Power (the Cup we so lately drank of) which at this time swells high and bears hard against us, not only from Foreign Inundations of open Enemies, but private overflowings of the Gall of some over-jealous Men amongst us. As if it were evil to unite Dissenting Protestants upon those just equitable and safe Principles, which many Wise and Pious Bishops, and other Conforming Members of the Church of *England*, have propounded as fit Terms and Expedients for Union and Peace, than to cause the Reformed Religion to run a most dangerous Risque and Adventure.

Suppose some of our Tackling should be rent, and Spracery sullied, yet it were a Misfortune no way comparable to that of dashing the Ship against the Rock. And what Shipwrack the Storms which some Zealots among us, are ever upon the least alteration of that Rigging (though upon the justest Reasons) raising, may occasion, God only knows, if he that stills the Raging of the Sea, does not quiet the Madnes of the People?

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

Suppose the Decency and Order of our most exact and innocent Rituals to be ten times more than what really they are, yet they can never commute for the hundredth part of that Blood and Treasure which have been expended in their Quarrel. But shall we not at least in this our day see the things that concern the Peace and Welfare of our Church and State?

'Tis not possible for any who is a true living Member of either Body to be so fast feeling, as to find no regret or sympathy, when he sees either of them reel and stagger to and fro like a drunken Man: What Member of the Body can be in health, when the whole Head is sick and Heart faint? But thanks be to God we have made one step in order to a Cure, that we can see the Rock of Offence from whence these Distempers are hewen, and the Hole of the Pit from whence they are digged. We can tell what those Bryars and Thorns are, and who hath planted them, which have not only rent our Garments, but rolled them in Blood too. And that for no other cause, than that they were not all of a colour. But is there no Balm in our Gilead? Is there no Physician of that value there, that can bind up our Wounds and mollifie them with Ointment? Undoubtedly we have, viz. a Prince who hath made Propositions like to the Leaves of the Tree of Life which are for the healing of the Nations. Who that he might compleat our deliverance, having saved us from the Hand of our Enemies, that we might serve God without fear; is desigining to reconcile us to our selves, that having abolished the Enmity, even the Law of Commandments, contained in (Ecclesiastical) Ordinances we might have Peace. We have Bishops now not like those Egyptian Task-masters, that when the People cryed to them for ease, were sent back with a Reproach, viz. *Ye are idle, ye are idle, away to your Burthens*: But such as are kind and compassionate Fathers and Pastors of the Flock, who considering its weakness will not over drive it. Yea like the Wisdom from above, they are gentle, and easie to be intreated to lose every Burthen, and to let the oppressed go free. Binding up the broken-hearted, knocking off those Shackles which have so long gauled the Consciences, and held Captive the Souls of Men. For which purposes how often have Promises been made, Tempers found, Projects offered and proposed; which by the prevailing Interest of Men highly addicted to the Form of our Worship, have been stifled and suppressed. And who are always in so high a tickle and stife to disappoint and castate all the fairest Purposes and Propositions whenever they are made, in order to a firm Settlement and lasting Peace. Nor will consent to part with one Hair, though the whole Head be sick, &c. And though we should admit it to be true, that nothing hath been enjoined in the Worship of God, but what might be lawfully submitted to, yet it hath been a very unruly Truth, and which we have found so hard to manage, that like a restless Jade, it hath cast the Riders, and dangerously struck them when they were out of the Saddle. It was a Reverend Bishop's

Declaration  
from Breda.  
Declaration  
concerning  
Ecclesiastical  
Affairs.

Another in the  
Year, 1672.  
&c.

shop's Opinion in this case, *That better is a quiet Error, than an unruly Truth.* And *Erasmus* was so great a Lover of Peace, that he could not fancy a troublesome and tumultuous Truth. *Mibi (saith he) adeo inuisa est discordia, ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa.* Which may admit a more favourable Construction, when it respects only the Outworks of Religion, and mere Circumstances of Divine Worship, which may, or may not be observed, and yet the Ordinances of God duly administered. For instance, in the Case of Private Baptism, the Child may be (I think I may say according to the Rubrick ought to be) baptized without Sponsors, and not to be signed with the Sign of the Cross, and yet the Child is declared by the Rubrick to be sufficiently baptized without either, and requires none to make any doubt of it. And therefore King *James's* Project which he sent to Cardinal *Perroon* might highly conduce to an accommodation were we but so happy as to apply it, viz. That we should sever (a) necessary from unnecessary things. That as to the first (which he saith are not many) we should agree, and leave the rest to liberty. *In non necessariis libertati Christianæ detur locus.* This he thought was the shortest (b) cut to Peace, as may be seen more at large in the Epistle wrote by *Causabon* to the Cardinal at the King's Command upon this Subject. Yet so great and mistaken too hath the Zeal of Men been concerning the Rites of Religion that we have heard, that whole Churches have bandied at, and censured one and other for things of no great moment, such were the *Saturday-Fast*, and Celebration of *Easter*. *Erasmus* in his Epistle before *Irenæus* his Works, commends that Father for his earnest Desire, and Love of Peace, and for blaming the Bishop of Rome for his (c) cutting off many Churches from his Communion, because they did not agree with the Western Church in the Celebration of *Easter*, and Observation of Fasts. *Ecclesiastica Concordiæ tam fuit studiosus ut cum Victor Romanus Pontifex multis Ecclesias amputasset à Communione, quod in Celebratione diei Paschalis, & in Observatione jejuniorum morem obtinebant à Romanâ consuetudine diversum Magna libertate Victorem reprehenderit.*

Now that things of this nature are the Scene in which our present Disputes lie, there's no Man ignorant. To moderate which his Majesty hath interposed his Wisdom and Authority.

But though he hath charmed wisely, yet our Adders have too much String, and too little Ear to listen to those things which concern the Peace and Welfare of our Church. From whence have sprung our great Zeal and Stickle in Parliamentary Elections, to pick up Men of those tenacious Principles, that would sooner part with an Article out of their Creed, than the least Rite or Ceremony out of the Rubrick.

The Answer which the Arch-bishop with the rest of the Bishops presented to the late King was, *That it was no want of Tenderneſs to Dissenters that they could not comply with the Declaration for Liberty, but that they only*

Bishop Hall's Peace-maker.

Our Controversies, saith Dr. Potter, are none of them in the Substance of Faith, but only in disputable Opinions not clearly defined in Scripture. Charity mistaken, p 185. Why then should such things be made Terms of Communion.

(a) *Itam distinctionem seminissimus Rex tantumputat esse momenti ad minuendas Controversias que hodie Ecclesiam dei tantopere Exercent.*

(b) *Nullam breviorẽ ad inuendam concordiam viam fore, &c.*

(c) *Non de catholico dogmate sed æritu, vel ritus potius tempore.* Not for any Catholick Doctrine but for a Ceremony, &c. So Petavius. *Erasm. Epist. ad Bernhard. Trid. Epist.*

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

waited till it should be considered in Parliament and Convocation. The first hath very kindly, and with Justice to former Promises granted them their Liberty. To the latter it being propounded to consider how the Partition-wall might be broken down, the Bones of Contention (which have made us so often snarle at one and other) thrown out of the way; every thing became so Sacred and Apostolical, that they can part with nothing. The Forks and the Shovels, the Snuffers and the Snuffing-Dishes were all of pure Gold.

'Tis true, in the height of the Storm they promised a Candle as tall as their Main-mast, but that being allay'd, one burnt into the Socket, is too costly a Sacrifice to offer up for the Peace and Unity of the Church.

Oh! If they would not joyn issue with their Enemies against them, how deliciously should they fare every day? But now they can't spare a Crum for those scabby Lazarus's under the Table. *When they were in trouble, and the Hand of God was upon them, when they were spoken roughly to, and no Apology or Plea they could alledge in their defence would be heard or admitted, then like Joseph's Brethren methinks we heard them complain to each other; And say verily we are guilty concerning our Brethren; In that we saw the Anguish of their Souls when they besought us, but we would not bear them, therefore is this distress come upon us. Did we not speak unto you, saying, Sin not against them, for they are our Brethren, but ye would not bear, therefore is their Blood required at our Hands.* But no sooner did our Moses deliver them from their Task-masters, and brought them again into their Kingdom, but like Pharaoh's chief Butler, they did not remember them, but (a) forgot them. But to this it will be replied, Are not those Promises fulfilled? Hath not the last and this present Parliament settled that Liberty by a Law, which the two last Princes straining their Prerogative gave by Proclamation?

(a) *Gen. 40. 23.*  
*Obj.*

*Res.*

'Tis a very great Truth, and for which Act the present, yea the Generations to come, will rise up and bless God, the King and Parliament for that Justice, Prudence and Pity which they have shewn to a poor harassed and ravaged People, who else would have been as certainly, though not so sudden ruined, as our poor distressed Brethren in France. Tho' the departure of the greatest part of Dissenting Protestants here, was far less from the Church of England, than theirs from the Church of Rome.

But why might not things be so tempered, that this Partition-wall might become less needful? And the Church of England by hearkning to some Terms of Accommodation, and making a Rebatement of disputable Things, and (all along) offensive Rites and Ceremonies become more enlarged, and settled upon a firmer Basis and more tried Foundation. For though the late Indulgence hath prevented Ephraim from vexing Judah, yet 'tis scarce provided for, that Judah should not envy Ephraim. Although I have some good reason to know and believe (and therefore do

do I speak) that many of our Dissenting Brethren be of *Mephibosheth's* Mind, that if the Protestant Religion may be secured, against our restless and implacable Enemies of *Rome*, the King and Kingdom settled in Peace, poor *Ireland* saved out of the Hands of those, whose tender Mercies are Cruelty; they are contented the *Ziba's* should take all; they grudge not at their Preferments and Dignities, being satisfied with a slender Fare and Provision. And of the Mind with that contented Man described by the Poet,

*Vivitur parvo bene cui paternum  
Splendet in mensâ tenui Salinum,  
Nec leves Somnos timor aut Cupido,  
Sordidus aufert.*

Esteeming the Liberty of Conscience, and mean Diet, a continual Feast. But why should we envy our Brethren sitting at the same Table, when we have all the same Faith, the same Father, the same Baptism, the same Hope of our Calling?

But suppose we should propound a Temper, it will not satisfy, nor will they comply, unless all the Rules of Decency and Order be rescinded and totally destroyed. Obj.

1<sup>st</sup>. We hope better things of them, and such as accompany the Peace and Union of the Church. Ref.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Suppose it should gain but a few, yet that's Ground enough for our Argument, an Enforcement of our Plea. Would our Governours please to imitate *St. Paul*, they would become all things to all Men that they might gain some, though not all Dissenters, *1 Cor. 9. 19. For though I be free from all Men, yet have I made my self a Servant, &c. 20. To the Jews I became a Jew, that I might the gain the Jews, &c. 22. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all Men that I might gain some.*

That *St. Paul* might not offend the *Jews* he condescended, and circumcised *Timothy*. The *Pharisees* were very strict for Circumcision, and *16 Acts 3.* thought it needful to observe the Law. But the Apostles assembled at *Jerusalem* thought not fit to trouble the Converted *Gentiles* (which *15 Acts 5.* were turned to God) with those Rites, which the Converted *Jews* were zealous for. Why might not the same Rule be observed among us? He that is ambitious to have his Child signed with the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, let him have the Liberty to procure his Child to be so baptized. He that desires to be excused the Ceremony of the Surplice, in his publick Ministration, may he be left to his own freedom: and so on the contrary, being obliged only to those things which are necessary, especially where such Indulgence may gain some Pious and Conscientious Ministers, into the Communion of our Church, and give ease to such who are actually

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

actually engaged in its Ministry, and pressed down with such Burthens. Which is the second Reply to the Objection, and Plea for Abatement.

3dly, Suppose our Concessions should not call many over into our Tents at present, yet it might prevent those who are not yet admitted into our Communion from fleeing to separate Congregations for ease and refuge as to their Consciences; who if some rough places were made plain, would never think of departing from our Assemblies.

Would we *Cedere à jure*, and rebate those things which are Goads in the Sides, and Thorns in the Eyes of many good and Tender-conscienced Men, whose Necks have been gauled with the Ceremonial Yoak: It would happen to the Church from so benevolent an Aspect as it doth to the Earth, from the happy Conjunctions and Configurations of the Stars, whose effects though they be not immediately felt, yet cast a future kind and benign Influence upon it.

And is it not more than probable, that Persons who hereafter shall be at liberty of their choice of two several Communions, will choose that which they judge safest, and in which their Consciences may be most at ease? If in one of these the Word is soundly preacht, as it is in the Assemblies of many of the Dissenters (for they have owned and subscribed the Articles of our Religion so far as they respect the Doctrine of the Church) where also the Sacraments according to Divine Institution, are duly administred, pure and separate from those Rites and Ceremonies which are by them accounted to be (at best) of doubtful Disputation, and have been the Causes (accidentally at least) of every great Contest and Confusions amongst us: For this Reason good Mr. (a) Fox prayed that God would ease us of them, viz. because they have been the Cause, saith he, of much Blindness and Strife.

In the other, Men of Scruple know they cannot enjoy God's Ordinances of hearing the Word, Praying, Communicating in the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, nor their Children baptized, but these Divine Institutions must be leavened with those Ceremonies which to them are doubtful, they fear unlawful; which makes them abstain from celebrating the Evangelical Passover, because these sower Herbs must be its Sawce. Which though it be affirmed by the Imposers to be intipid, and to have no taste, either good or bad, but of an indifferent nature, yet when they taste they see, and (according to the best of their Understandings) find the contrary, they feel a Flavour of Superstition upon their Palats, and the more intently they look, the greater Eye of Red they espy in them. And upon the closest Application of their Judgments find a Rust of Popery, or else they mistake. They like the Meat well, but the Cookery is too much of the Garlick strain. Is it not then likely that the best and wisest Men will choose that part, which hath least of hazard? Now according to the Opinions on both sides the controverted Rites may be omitted, and yet the Sacraments duly administred; otherwise surely the

(a) Acts and  
Monuments,  
Vol. 3.



## Conformity to the Church of England.

9

the Bishops and Clergy in *Scotland*, would not have received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper sitting; as their Practice was before the late Abolition of Episcopacy: Nor would our Rubrick declare, that in private Baptism, where it is to be administered without Godfathers, and Sign of the Cross, the Child is sufficiently baptized, forbidding any to question it. Whence we may conclude, that the most wary Men, will be apt to forsake the Communion of the Church of *England* as the most unsafe of the two. Which by the Expedient propounded, might be easily prevented for the future; and seems no faint Argument for an act of Comprehension, though it should not bring over those who are actually engaged as Pastors and Ministers of indulged Congregations.

So that the Act of Indulgence seems by a necessary Consequence to draw after it, another of Comprehension as large and powerful as the Inveteracy of our Schism shall require, and Wisdom of our Lawgivers shall think fit to grant; least those Riots which the former Act hath suffered to grow up, should so far exhaust the Sap, that the Tree of the Church should shrink and dwindle into a degenerate Plant. But if it would submit to have some of its Luxuriances (which have been esteemed as Right-hands) to be cut off, it might become a more thriving, yea and pleasanter Plant than ever. So far superseding the Act of Indulgence, as to take away the subject Matter of it, that in process of time it might become useless, there remaining few or none that would flee to it for succor; yea, and all the Penal Laws too, whilst all could cheerfully submit to its equitable Orders and inoffensive Rules and Canons: For when the Controverted things are once removed, the rest of her Commands would not be grievous.

4thly, Suppose the Dissenters should not be gain'd; Yet is there no regard to be had to the tender Consciences of Conformists, who rather than violate the Peace, or break the Unity of the Church, have a long time laboured under an heavy Burthen? Suppose these make their Wants known and Desires open, Is there no Mercy, no Pity to be extended to them, nor Consideration to be had of them? Must their Jaws be ever bored through with these Thorns, and their Faces ground without any remorse? Thanks be to God we have a Prince now whose design and endeavour is to lose every Burthen, and to let the oppressed go free. Nay, the Fathers of the Church have put on Bowels of Compassion too. If any be inexorable they are our Brethren with whom such Complainants have been accounted no better than Traytors to the State, betrayers of the Church; and if they perish in the Pit, become Slaves and Vassals to the *Caldeans*; nay, whatever becomes of them, it moves them not. Pray God this Sin be not laid to their charge, which can be esteemed no less, if we may take the Judgment of one dignified among them: Who thus expresseth himself.

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

\* See the Preface to the Common-Prayer, &c. 34 Article of Religion. Every particular or national Church hath Authority to ordain, change and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church.

I am perswaded this is one of the provoking Sins of the Conformists, That they have been so backward of doing what they were convinced they \* might have done with a good Conscience, when they were earnestly press'd to it by their Dissenting Brethren, and had Authority to do it; but they refused it.

They have the same Price now put into their Hands. The King invites them, the necessity of uniting Protestants against the common and implacable Enemy cries aloud to them, the Groans of burthened and oppressed Consciences of their Brethren plead with them. But I am afraid they do but *surdis canere*. We may seek them earnestly, but they will not be found of us. Nay, I wish there may not be the same reason to believe now, what a Reverend Doctor and Dignitary of the Church hath some years since declared to the World, *viz.* That they seem rather resolved to break all in pieces, and hazard our Religion, and let these sad Effects, our Divisions, still continue, than to abate their Rigour in imposing what they may lawfully alter or abolish.

Nay, that which puts so keen an edge upon our Complaints, as to cut every good Man to the Heart, is, That this Judgment which hath laid so heavy upon us, hath begun at the Church. Those whom God designed to be *Fishers of Men*, have spent their time and pains in gathering up these Shells and Pebbles upon the Shore; and (as one well observes) have wrangled about them too. But such is the present and remarkable Providence of God, that many of the Bishops and Clergy are pleading for that now as to themselves, they too much slighted, and decry'd as Humour and Faction in others. Now they plead Conscience, and urge it in excuse for not swearing Allegiance and Fidelity to the Government; to whom I wish as large Dispensations as be consistent with the Nature of Government and present Constitution of the Kingdom. But we ever understood those things which are destructive to the State, to be out of the Question, and beyond the Bounds of it, yea and Modesty too. It might be said as it was in another case, *If they ask this, let them ask the Kingdom also*. For as it hath been ever thought, that a Liberty in such things would be unreasonable for any Persons to ask; so neither could it be thought in common Prudence fit for Superiors to grant, especially in our case, unless they can dispense with a new Revolution of our former Miseries.

But in the mean time, why might not the Yoak of Conformity be lined, and that Burthen eased, which hath so long gaul'd the Necks, and grieved the Consciences of many in the Communion of the Church? Who like *Issachar* have rather chewed the Cud, than divided the Hoof, bit the Bridle, rather than snarled at the Governors of it?

This



This is some factious and false Brother, who being crept into the Church seeks to undermine and betray it. Such there be who cry, Peace, Peace, but their aim is Destruction. Nor have there been any greater Troublers of our Israel than these Quietists, whose Malice and Mistakes have produced the greatest Miseries and Misfortunes that have befallen us.

Obj.

*Aut fabrum forceps aut ars ignara sefellit.  
Esq̃vluu voluit cudere, cudit lev.*

There's some mistake, for Bread they give a Knife,  
Who hammering of Peace do fashion Strife.

When I undertook this Matter, I sat not down to consider upon how many Tongues I should be tost, for as I ran I read with what Filts of Wickedness I should be buffeted: Nor do I expect fewer Lashes than \*  
Cornelius Agrippa complains of, or reckons upon, when he wrote his Book *de Vanitate Scientiarum*. Yet I can, I dare say, I am no more a false Brother, than I take the Church of England to be a false Mother, who rather chose to have the Infant butchered than her revengeful Humour left ungratified. We only beg an Indulgence in those things which are no way essential to its Constitution, but like accidents to natural Bodies, *Possunt & ad esse, & ab esse sine Subjecti interitu*. And that in things of this nature, the Strings may not be screwed up by an Arbitrary Power to that pitch, as will strain and stretch the tender Consciences of her willing and obedient Children till all be disjointed; and especially considering, that the Voice of God in his late and stupendious Providences, is to loose every Burthen, and to let the oppressed go free.

Ref.

\**Aris interdici-  
ent avari sa-  
cerdotes, pul-  
pito lacerant  
larvati cucul-  
liones, contu-  
meliosique hy-  
pocrita. Pec-  
cata reserva-  
bunt eternis  
ignibus pleni-  
potentis pon-  
tifices. Galli-  
cam Scabiens  
commineban-  
tur salaces  
meretricula.  
Pref. ad va-  
ni. scien.*

*Facile tamen hos insultus evadendi spes est. Si modo veritatis patiens posito livore candido animo adhuc legenda accesseris. Habito præterea verbum dei pro clypto, &c. Ibid.*

We had a Prince who to expedite his way, and facilitate his Restauration to the Throne, gave all assurances his Royal Word could afford, that no Man should suffer for his Conscience in Matters of Religion, who should not disturb the Government and Peace of the Nation: And that he might satisfy, or gratify rather the Presbyterians, whose effectual fervent Endeavours, availed much towards his restitution to all things, he was very liberal in his Promises; and the better to water those hopes which he had so planted, issues his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs (in which he recognizes that from Breda) wherein he laid down that Project, by which he had wisely forecasted the Peace and Settlement both of Church and State, as is not obscurely hinted in its Preface. And

Witness the  
Declaration  
from Breda.

1660.

C

indeed,

## *A Plea for Abatement in Matters of*

indeed, many to this day think, that the Leaves of that Plant might have conduced much to the healing of the Nation in both respects, had our Royal Physician applied his Prescription: But instead thereof, that Corrosive was provided, which envenomed, but never healed the hurt of the Daughter of our People; instead of binding up their Wounds, and mollifying them with Ointment, there was that Vinegar and Gall poured into them, which iraged and rancled them beyond a Cure. His Majesty soon after this interim, or gracious Proposition (which was but like Lightning before a Thunder-bolt) enacted a Law, which deprived above 2000 of the Dissenting Clergy (as hath been computed) of their Benefices and Offices, leaving them the Benevolence of their own Party, and Charity of their Friends to provide Bread for themselves, and ruined Families: By which act was required a Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, and to give an unfeigned Assent and Consent to all, and every thing contained in it (which was Revised and Reprinted with divers Alterations) and to be done too by such a day, upon pain of Deprivation: Which time was so limited, that the new Copies could not be distributed, or what was to be subscribed to consulted; which hath often caused some to think, that the Persons then evicted by that Law, were not legally ejected; for 'tis impossible for me to give an unfeigned assent and consent to the Truth of a Proposition which I know not; and the Ignorance in that case was invincible, the Copies not being to be procured in time; so that the several Alterations could not be considered, or compared with the Rule of Scripture, which all concerned were obliged to acknowledge they did not contradict. To assent to a thing I know not is impossible, and to know a thing where the necessary Medium of Knowledge is denied is no way practicable. How then a Man can be disseized of his Freehold for not doing a thing which is impossible and impracticable, I leave to Men of Law and Reason to determine.

But I shall return to the former modest and earnest Request, made to our Superiors of such a Latitude or Relaxation in point of Conformity, as might render the Churches Yoak easie and burthen-light, as to those that are in it; giving so fair Invitations and Proposals to those that are without, that though they be not compelled by force, they may by a kind and generous Condescension be constrain'd to come in: Whilst the former Methods of reducing the People of this Nation to an uniform Practise in the Modes of Worship, have proved as unsuccessful as they were uncharitable, and rather (in many cases) the Effects of Spleen than Discipline. To prevent these Mischiefs, How happy were it, if the Bones which have made us snarle at, yea bite and devour one and other, might be taken out of the way?

1<sup>st</sup>. The first Net to which we may sacrifice for those Factions and Divisions which are amongst us, or which we rather may wish were sacrificed, and offered up by our Superiours to the Peace and Welfare of that

## Conformity to the Church of England.

11

that Church, of which God hath made them Overseers, are those Ceremonies which have pestered the Communion of it, masked and intangled the Consciences of many worthy (whatever they have been accounted) Members of its Fellowship.

*First*, The first of these is the Surplice and Habits, whose whiteness is symbolically significant of that Purity and spotless Innocency, which ought to be inseparable Proprieties of those who wait upon the (a) Altar. This is one of those Hairs, which is run through the Sieve of the Reformation, which \* hath choakt some, and made others keck and strain in drinking down the sincere Milk.

(a) *Hic-sippus* in his relation of the Life of St. James saith, that he only was admitted

into the Sanctuary, because he was clad in Linnen, but this Work is falsely ascribed to that Author.

\* Let us hear the Opinion of that reverend and worthy Man Mr. Fox, in our present case, who gives us an account of one *Blimsfeld*, an Informer, who threatned a good Man and Minister, for not wearing a Surplice in his publick Ministrations; and that he would put him forth, or deliver him up to the Officers, as is there said. Wherefore, saith he, 'tis pity such Baits of Popery are left to the Enemies to take Christians in. God take them away, or take us from them: for God knoweth they be the Cause of much Blindness and Strife amongst Men: So that this Rite hath been accounted an ancient Nuisance in the Church: *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 3. p. 764. Edit. 1684.

The Reformers of our Church, those Evangelical Fisher-men, or rather Fishers of Men, being not so stanch as other Churches who reformed from Popery, though fit to knit their Net of somewhat a wider shale than they; inasmuch, that several of the Fry spawned in *Tiber*, have run through the Masks of it; which *Roman Lampreys* several wise and good Men have thought to have a poysonous Sting of Superstition run through the Back of them. *Jewel*, Bishop of *Salisbury* had as judicious a Palate as another, yet profest he found the same Flavour; who in a Letter, dated Febr. 8. 1566. wishes that the Vestments, together with all the Remnants of Popery might be thrown out of their Churches, and of the Minds of the People; and laments the Queen's fixedness to them. Bishop *Hooper*, that constant Martyr refused to be consecrated Bishop, unless he might be dispensed with as to the: Attire, viz. The white Racket, &c. (as Mr. Fox saith it) beseeching the King either to discharge him of his Bishoprick, or else to dispense with him for such Ceremonial Orders: Which the King did, and wrote to the Arch-bishop, and indemnified him for omitting (and Licensed him to let pass) certain Rites and Ceremonies offensive to his Conscience.

*Acts and Monuments*, p. 120 2d. Vol. 3d. Vol.

*Sands*, Arch-bishop of *York* gives them no better Character than what the aforelaid Bishop of *Salisbury* had: Engraven upon them. Disputes concerning the Popish Vestments, are on Foot, whether they shall be used or not; but God (saith he) will put an end to these things. *Zanchy* also in his Epistle to Queen *Elizabeth*, tells her, That most of the Bishops had rather leave their Offices than admit of such Garments: *Homie*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Letter dated 16. July, 1565. writes of the Act concerning

*Contenditur de Vestibus Papi- sticis utendis vel non utendis sed deus dabit his quod sine.*

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

See Burnet's Letters, containing an Account of his Observations in Switzerland, &c.

cerning the Habits with great regret, and expresses some hopes, that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the Popish Party did not hinder it: And seems to be in a doubt, whether he should conform himself to it or not: Upon which he desires the Advice of *Bullinger*. And in many Letters wrote on that subject, it is asserted that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits. *Grindal* in a Letter, dated 27. August, 1566. writes, that all Bishops which had been beyond Sea, dealt with the Queen, to let the Matter of the Habits fall. And must they still stand to grieve the Consciences of good Men, scandalize those that are without, drive out those that are within? Especially considering we have a Prince that is willing to compassionate the Infirmities of the Weak, and Bishops who are ready to remove the Nuisances of the Church; could we but be so happy as to be delivered from the Strivings of some over-formal People, who are as obstreperous for these things as the *Ephesians* for their *Diana*: Whereas these Garments no more than Meats commend us to God, for neither if we wear them are we the better, neither if we wear them not, are we the worse. Some stumble at these Rites of wearing Linnen Garments; as supposing them originally derived and borrowed from the Customs of the Heathens, whose Priests used such a kind of Dress when they appeared before their Gods. *In lintea religiora veste Sacra Isidam propalam celebrare.*

Suetonius.

— Non discolor ulli

Sil. Ital.  
Ovid.

*Ante aras cultus velantur Corpora lino.*

*Alba decent Cererem.*

*Evolvam busto jam numen gentibus Isin,*

*Et rectam lino spargam per vulgus Osirin.*

*Juvenal* calls the Priests, *Grex liniger*. And though every thing is not to be rejected which the Heathens used, for then perhaps we must wear no Garments at all: Yet God commanded the *Jews*, 12 *Deut.* 31. Not to do so to the Lord their God; that is as the Heathens did. And *Cajetane* from thence observes, that God plainly forbid them to Worship him with such Rites and Ceremonies, as the Heathens worship their Deities. His Words are, *Præcipitur ad literam ne colant deum similibus ritibus & Ceremoniis quos servarunt Ethnicæ Colentes Elohe suos.*

Others are scandalized at them, because these Rites and Habits are used by the Papists, or rather abused. *Nec cum hæreticis Commune quicquam habere voluerunt*, *Magd. Cent.* 4. *Caf.* 6. *Col.*

As to these Arguments, I shall only say, *Valeant in quantum valere possunt*. Yet sure they may have Tincture enough to colour the Requests we make to our Imposters, that they would consider how they put a Stumbling-block to those that are weak, that they would not use the Sword of their Authority to the wounding the Consciences of their Brethren,

thren, for this is a Sin against Christ, which may supersede all other Arguments that might be alledged, and pleaded in redress of this Grievance, hoping our Superiors are of the same Mind with St. Paul, that if the Injunction of this Rite (as to Habit) make our Brethren to offend, they would never injoin it whilst the World stands. And that for the future the Righteousness of the Saints may be a sufficient Qualification for the Ministerial Office, though they should appear in no other clean Linnen to worship in; 19 Rev. 8. *For the fine Linnen is the Righteousness of the Saints.*

## Of the Cross in Baptism.

II. **T**HE Sign of the Cross in Baptism: This is a Stone of Stumbling and Rock of Offence; A retained Rite in our Reformation from Rome, which other Protestant Churches thought fit to reject, as a Superstitious Ceremony and Popish unnecessary addition to the Holy Sacrament of Baptism; nor were they to be blamed when the end for which the Primitive Christians in several Cases made use of it was ceased. They living among those Heathens who despised a Crucified Saviour, and in a literal Sense, were Enemies to the Cross of Christ, in opposition to which Gainsayers they by the frequent use of it let them see, that they were not ashamed of the Gospel, and that God forbid, that they should glory in any thing save in the Cross of Christ. But this Practice did not long preserve it self from a Superstitious Taint, the Primitive Christians thinking nothing well done without it; such was their Opinion of it, yea into a direct Idolatry did this Superstition degenerate, that in succeeding Generations it came to be adored and worshipped, Prayers being by the Church directed to it, as to God himself, which Aquinas alledges\* in Justification of the Conclusion he makes concerning its Adoration in the highest degree. *Crux Christi* (saith he) *in qua Christus Crucifixus est, tum propter representationem, tum propter Christi Contactum, latius adoranda est, Crucis vero Effigies in aliâ quavis materiâ, priori tantum ratione adoranda est.* That is, the Cross of Christ upon which he was crucified, in respect of its Representation, as also because it (a) toucht the Body of Christ is to be worshipped by the highest Worship; But the Effigies or Figure of the Cross of what Matter or Mettal soever it is made of, in the first respect only (*viz.* its Representation) is in the same manner to be worshipped.

\* *Cantat. enim Ecclesia O cruz ave spes unica, &c. 3 q. 25. 4.*

(a) And might not the Lips of Judas by the same reason be adored with Divine Honour.

Nor is this the Freak or Fancy of this single Doctor only, but the stated Judgment of the Roman Church, otherwise she would never allow it to be solemnly prayed to in her publick Offices. *Cantat enim Ec-*

*clesia O cruz ave spes unica hoc passionis tempore, arge parricidium, reisque d. n. In dominica de passionis domini in hymn.*



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*dona veniam.* That is hail holy Crofs, our only hope in this time of Paſſion give an increaſe of Righteouſneſs to holy Men, and to the guilty Pardon of Sin. Can thoſe Churches be blamed which already have, or ours if now it ſhould, lay aſide ſuch Rites as have been, and yet are ſo unreaſonably abuſed to Superſtition and Idolatry.

Fiſt 6. Cap. 3.  
Quia.

The Concluſion which the Canon Law hath made in the like Caſe ſeems very rational, *viz.* Suppoſing our Anceſtors have done ſome things, which might at that time be blameleſs, and afterward be turned to Superſtition and Error, we are taught by *Hezekiah's* breaking the brazen Serpent, that Poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great Authority: And that which makes us hope, that our Lawgivers may in due time give ear to the Requeſts ſo often made, both by thoſe which are within, and without the Communion of the Church of England, and fulfil the repeated Promiſes which have been made of taking away, the Occaſions or Cauſes of its Schiſm, is that our Church it ſelf lays no great ſtreſs upon this Rite. For in the Rubrick of private Baptiſm it allows that Sacrament to be compleat, and ſufficiently adminiſtered without it, where the eſſential parts, *viz.* the Matter and Form as by Chriſt preſcribed be obſerved, though this Humane addition ſhould be omitted.

\* As we have had more than once occaſion to take notice of.

Seeing then our Forefathers have had ſo moderate an Opinion concerning it: Beſides the modetty of our Deſires which are not to have the Breſt-plate of Righteouſneſs or [Holineſs to the Lord] in the leaſt deſaced or expunged, but only that a Bell may be taken off the *Ephod* which hath rung Awk in the Ears of many weak; yet very true Sons of the Church. *We hope therefore, &c.*

Obj.

But though the Rubrick injoins not the Sign of the Croſs to be uſed in the private Adminiſtration of Baptiſm; yet it binds the Parents to bring the Child into the publick Congregation, and all the \* Pomp and Ceremony is to be obſerved as in publick Baptiſm.

\* Which are the Words of B. Sparrow in his *Rationale*, if I miſtake not, for I have not the Book to conſult, and I have not lately read it.

Ref.

That the Rubrick recommends it I grant, that it binds or commands I deny. The Words in the Common Prayer are theſe, *viz.* Yet nevertheleſs, if the Child which after this ſort is baptized doth afterward live, it is expedient that it be brought into the Church, to the intent, that if the Miniſter of the ſame Pariſh did himſelf baptize that Child, the Congregation may be tiſied of the true Form of Baptiſm by him privately before uſed. And nothing more than a bare Certificate, according to the Rule is needful, where Baptiſm hath been adminiſtered by the Miniſter of the Pariſh: Whatever the Author of the *Rationale* hath affirmed to the contrary. But ſuppoſe it baptized by a Stranger, 'tis not in that caſe poſitively commanded, that the Child be brought into the Congregation: But the Judgment of the Church declared, that it is a thing expedient or fit. Seeing then it

## Conformity to the Church of England.

15

is not a Ceremony of that use now, as it was among the Primitive Christians, who too soon caused it, to degenerate into Superstition; besides that many of our Brethren are by it driven from our Assemblies, suffering their Children to die unbaptized, as of mine own knowledge I can testify, or at best forc'd into separate Communion to avoid that Rite, by which means the Breach is widened, and the Schism made more inveterate: And seeing our Church hath that moderate Opinion of it, that the Omission of it is no prejudice either to the Sufficiency or Lawfulness of the Act. Why should it be thought by any unreasonable for us to intreat our Superiors for an \* Abatement in this respect?

\*The Rubrick  
of the first  
Book of Edw.

the Sixth, commands that the Child be signed by the Minister on the Breast, as well as on the Forehead: Now seeing this is omitted, Why may not that on the Forehead be left indifferent?

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### Of Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

III. **A** Third thing which hath caused several to stumble and fall from us, is the Posture of Kneeling at the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*. We all agree in this, that the utmost Humility, Reverence and Thankfulness that we can pay to the Almighty for his ineffable Love to Mankind, commemorated in that holy Office, is not the half that is due, the way of payment is only questioned. The Tribute of Honour is not denied, though it be doubted by such as dissent from us, whether the Coin we are prescribed to pay it in be current. If we agree the substantial part of our Duty, is it an insuperable difficulty to find a Temper by which we might accord no greater difference? Is it not a spot which will scarce ever be taken out of the Ancient Church, that the different Calculation of *Easter* should breed such irreconcilable Feuds and Factions, as to proceed with the greatest Censures and Severities one against another?

For which *St. Irenaeus* went up to *Rome*, and sharply rebuked *Victor* for the Rigor of his Proceedings against the Eastern Churches as is already observed. And how sharp a Thorn this retained Ceremony hath been among the rest; the Tears and Complaints of our Brethren which have been poured out as a Flood, have been sufficient Proofs. And tho' tis true, the Mercy and Compassion of the King, and two succeeding Parliaments have wip'd those Eyes dry, which for many Years together scarce ever ceased: Yet it cannot but press hard upon the Hearts and Consciences of many faithful Ministers of the Church, upon the highest Pains and Penalties it can inflict, to be forc'd to deny Children their Bread,

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

Bread, to expel and drive them away from the Lord's Table, be their Conversations never so much agreeable to the Gospel, merely for their Non-conformity to a Rite which the Imposers themselves (abstracted from their Authority) allow to be indifferent: Besides is there no regard to be had to many Conscientious Members in its Communion, who being loath to make a rent in it, have submitted to an uneasy Yoke? And will you not gratify your obedient Children, who have lived uneasy to themselves, rather than disoblige or disobey you, whom God hath set over them? Hark, how a Beam out of our Timber, and Stone out of our own Wall Councel us.

Have Patience with your weak Brother, require no more of him than Christ required of his Disciples; surely Christ would not have allowed any unfitting Posture; condemned not that which Christ allowed. Ad-  
 Naked Truth, mit we be weak, yet we are not wilful, when you command us to go  
 p. 8. 19. we go; But why should our way be paved any longer with Thorns, which is in your Power to strew with Roses? Suppose we be weak, yet you that are strong ought to bear the Infirmities of the Weak, and not to offend those by your Authoritative Power, for whom Christ died. Why should you our Fathers provoke your willing Children to wrath? Violating the Rules of Charity by your Decrees for Conformity: We are weak, 'tis true, but many strong, I mean wise and learned Men are of the same Mind and Meaning with us. Nay several of the Reformed Churches have abolish'd this Rite, for that they thought it did *Olere Papismum*, smelling too rank of their Idolatrous Worship: And least this Flye should affect, or infect their whole Box of Ointment, have cast it out. Besides, though in process of time this Ceremony hath been admitted, yet from the beginning it was not so. Christ and his Apostles used not this Posture, but that

Was it not truly alledged in the second Paper, presented to King Charles II. by the Divines then authorized to review and amend the Liturgy, that kneeling in any Adoration at all in any Worship on any Lord's Day in the Year, or on any Week-day, between *Easter* and *Pentecost* was not only disused but forbidden by General Councils? *Con. Nicen. 1. Can. 20. Con. Trull. &c.*

which was usual at their common Meals, and yet no doubt, he gave this Holy Sacrament, and they received it in a most reverend and decent way.

\* *Socrates* observes, that the *Egyptians* adjoining to *Alexandria* and Inhabitants of *Torbais*, after they had banqueted and filled themselves with sundry Delicacies, in the Evening after Service did use to Communicate.

*Didoclauius* in his *Altare Damascenum*, Pag 784. maintains, that no Testimony can be produced to prove, that Kneeling was before the time of *Honorius 3d.* And some others have observed, that bowing the Knees before the Host, came not into the Church before Transubstantiation,



tion (a). Mr. Hooper (b) in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* speaks little upon this Argument; and yet that little is by some thought too much; as too much reflecting upon our Saviour's Administration of the Holy Sacrament to his Disciples, not in a kneeling Posture. This Bellarmine acknowledges in his Answer to Calvin's Objection, *Lib. de Eucharist. 4to. Cap. 30. Non poterant semper prostratum Christo agere praesertim in Cena domini, quando recumbere cum illis necesse erat.*

(a) Bish. Hall tells us of a dispute he had with a Sorbonist, who took occasion by our kneeling at the Reception of the Eucharist, to per-

swade the Company that we owned Transubstantiation.

(b) I may be allowed to say of Mr. Hooker, as Mr. Chillingworth speaks of him, viz. Though he was an excellent Man, yet he was but a Man, p. 309. The Religion of *Botsf.*

Stella saith also; *Distribuit panem discumbentibus, mundi Salvator.* If I mistake the Author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, let the Reader judge: His Words are these, [If we did there present our selves to make some shew, or dumb resemblance of a Spiritual Feast, it may be that sitting were the better Ceremony.] Our Saviour did not, nor his Apostles present themselves only to make some shew, or dumb resemblance of a Spiritual Feast, yet undoubtedly they adjudged the Posture they used at Meals the fittest, and not kneeling, for sure they chose that, they judged to be most decent and fit. [Our Lord saith, the same Author did that which custom and long usage had made fit; We that which fitness and great decency had made usual.] I should have thought our Saviour's Practice might have as well prescribed to times and great decency, as to custom and long usage; especially considering it was an Ordinance not so old as yesterday, but at that very time instituted. But to let all this pass; kneeling was a Rite dispensed with by the Interim of Charles II. who for the Establishing of the Churches Peace, and composing the Minds of Men, gave a Determination of several Matters in difference; this Ceremony being one among the rest. Which Dispensation (though stiled an Interim) might have continued for ever had the King pleased; that is, till such a time as he in his Declaration mentions, viz. [Until such a Synod be called, as might without Passion or Prejudice give a further Assistance towards a perfect Union of Affections, as well as Submission to Authority;] Providing that none be denied the Sacrament for not using the Posture of Kneeling. To desire then what hath been so largely promised by the Supreme Magistrate, with great Advice, and for wise Ends, argues us neither sturdy Beggars, nor unreasonable in our Requests. And though I have, and do without scruple submit to the Order of our Church in this respect; yet for the sake of those that cannot, I heartily wish an Indulgence might be granted, or Temper found, to extinguish those Flames, which so small a Spark hath enkindled, causing the Daughter of our *Sion* so often to be clad in Sack-cloth, and to sit in Ashes. In a word, as to our Church-Ceremonies in the Bulk, I may conclude in the Words of that Reverend and

D

Learned

Learned Person, the Author of the *Naked Truth*, viz. *That if they be things indifferent in themselves, let them be indifferently used, not urged upon*  
*\*Naked Truth*, all. [*\* Let it be indifferent, saith he, whether this or that, or no Ceremony, whether Kneel or not Kneel, Bow or not Bow, Surplice or no Surplice, Cross or no Cross, Ring or no Ring, let us give Glory to God in all, and no Offence to our Brethren in any thing.*]

*\*Naked Truth*, all.  
 p. 20.

## *Concerning the Liturgy or Church-Service.*

**A**S to our Church-Service, there be two Things in the general we could wish might be considered.

1<sup>st</sup>. The first is the Form and Method of it; being by our first Reformers wisely framed, so as all things which they esteemed necessary to be altered, might be expunged; yet they retained so much of the Form and Shape of it, that it seems in some respects to symbolize with the Roman Service: And though other Reformed Churches went through stitch, and wholly abolished it, yet the Divines of our Nation understanding the Genius and Temper of the People saw our Polity, could no more than Nature, endure violent Alterations. And that Rome, which was not built, so neither could it be destroyed in a Day. Hence perhaps it was that, the Terms of Altar, Priest, &c. were retained, and that in all his Attire and Dress he must go up to read the second Service at the Altar, &c. But sure these were Physicians of greater value than to oblige others never to perfect the Cure. The old Leven could not be purged out all at once; and therefore several of the greatest Prelates in Queen Elizabeth's Days endeavoured to proceed in that Work, but Satan hindered them. And he that hath let, still lets, yea that Mystery of Iniquity, will work till it be taken out of the way. But as our first Reformers had sufficient reason to vouch them in doing so much, so enough to say that they then did no more.

2 *Thess.* 2. 7.

1<sup>st</sup>. As first, That the King might with more ease be delivered from the Strivings of the People.

Who upon the first Essay of the Reformation were cast into Heaps, Insurrections and Mutinies. To pacifie whom, he in a Message to the Rebels of *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, told them, *That though perchance it seemed to them a new Service, yet indeed was no other than the old, the self-same Words in English which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, &c.* If the general Zeal of English Men for the Mass hindered their Progress then, the universal Prejudice of our Nation against it now, may justify a further Procedure in the Reformation: For if it were Wisdom and Reason in our Ancestors to observe the Temper of the People, and conform to the Times then; Why should not our Governours so much honour them as to make it the Rule of Practice

*Acts and Monuments. Lib. 9. p. 15. Col. 2.*

now,

now, so far as may stand with a good Conscience, and the Church's Peace?

2dly, A retaining much of the Form, and symbolizing then with the Antient Service, seemed a very good Expedient to draw the People into a more easie Compliance and Communion with the Church, though it had cast out many of its usages, as tainted with the Leven of Idolatry and Superstition: Whereas by our Experience we have found, that no Condescensions can prevail with them to own our Church, or prevent their Designs and Conspiracies to ruine it. So successful and prosperous were their late Attempts, that the Cup was at their Lip, who had well nigh swallowed us up, and in a moment we must have gone down into the Belly of Hell. The Altar was built, the Wood was prepared, the Sacrifice was bound, the Hand stretched out against us; the weight of which we had ere now felt, if the Lord had not sent his Angel and delivered us. Shall we then disoblige our Friends and Brethren, of the same Reformed Protestant Religion with our selves; who own the same Faith, the same Hope of our Calling, the same Lord, the same Baptism; Shall we any longer keep our Friends out, to bring our implacable Enemies in? Whom by Experience we have found to be rather hardned in the Error of their way, than softened by Compliance (in any thing) with them, or Indulgence of them. When we nurse and brood them (as the Country-man did the Snake) till they do but sting and hiss at us for our pains. Why then should we retain that form of Service which so much regreates upon the Minds of our Friends, and is altogether ineffectual to soften, or oblige our Enemies?

3dly, They did no more by way of Reformation then, because it pleased God to shorten the \* King's Life, and put an end to his days, \* Edward 6. before the great Work was finished, and Reformation perfected. After which it pleased him to suffer the Church, again to settle upon the old Lees of Popery: All the Relicks and Remainers of which we have found hard to get rid of. But now God hath blest us with a Prince, who is willing that the Rulers of our Church should take their Fan into their Hand, and thoroughly purge the Floor. Let him not now have occasion to say concerning us, I would have purged you, but you would not be purged, till the Lord causeth his fury to rest upon you.

But is not this an unjust Reflection upon the Church of England, as if it were tainted with the old Leven of Popery? When it so lately appeared in open defiance against it, standing in the gap to defend us from the Ravage which the old Boars of the Roman Forest would have made in our Vineyard? Was it not from hence that our Bank hath been maintain'd against the proud and rampant Waves of Tiber, I mean Popery which was coming upon us like a Flood?

Obj.

Ref.

'Tis true, many learned and worthy Members and Ministers of our Church did unhearth their Pens, and used other such Weapons in our Spiritual Warfare as put to flight the Armies of the Aliens. Such Bar-teries have been raised both from the Prefs and Pulpit, as have beaten down the strong holds of the Romish Philistines: Yea, thanks be to God in a more literal Sense, the Shields of those uncircumcised and mighty Men, have been vilely cast away, yea their Champions are yet falling upon the Mountains of our *Gilboa*. And therefore we ought not to curse those who freely offered themselves, and came out to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty: But yet, if I might without offence, I would desire a Query or too to be resolved.

*Que. 1.* In the Defection that was made in our short time of trial, what compare for number can be made of the Renegadoes which fled, and deserted to the Enemy from the Tents of the Church of *England*, with those of the Dissenters? I must profess that of the latter I know none: though both of the Clergy and Laity there might be brought in too large a List, or Catalogue (to our shame be it spoken) of the former.

*Que. 2.* Among the Reverend Persons who ventured themselves to save our Church and Doctrine, from the Assaults made upon the Faith once delivered to the Saints. Whether there be not several who would freely consent, that the Caps and Copes, Surplice and Hood, Crossing and Bowing, alternate Readings, Versicles and Responses, Chanting and Musick in our Church Assemblies might be laid aside, and a more simple Evangelical, inoffensive, and less symbolizing form of Divine Service, might be established among us? I am as little averse to Harmony as any, yet could not sometimes but with regret observe, how the Congregation hath in its solemn Worship been interrupted, and Minister stopt from proceeding in his Ministration, till the Musick-Master hath delivered his Fancy; Paraphrasing upon some Ground, shewing his skill by some fuge or descant upon that Text, continuing the Voluntary till he could make his Cadence artificially upon the Key. In all which being assisted perhaps with a Noise of common Fiddlers, his tickling the Ears of the Auditory, goes for an Elation of Mind, and Heavenly Rapture. But I believe \* *Aquinas's* Opinion in this case doth very well agree with our Experience. *Hujusmodi enim Musica Instrumenta (saith he) magis animum movent ad delectationem, quam per ea formetur interius bona Dispositio, Aquinas 22d. Qu. 91. Art. 24. M.*

*Justine Martyr* thought it a Childish thing to have more than simple Singing, or to have Musical Instruments used in the CHURCH. Οὐτὸ εἶπον οἱ πλῆθες ἐστὶ τοῖς νουπῶσι ἀρρεσθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐργάων, &c. \* *Tindal's* Opinion do not much differ from the Evangelical Do-

ctor's Organs (saith he) Musick and diversity of Songs are nothing to the Spirit, but is rather extinct through these wanton trifles. *Acts and Monuments, 2d. Vol. p. 305. 2 Col. Impress. 1684.*

Arundel,

*Arundel*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* preferred a Lesson upon the *Organs*, before the Preaching of the Gospel. *Orgains*, saith he, and good *delectable Songs sharpen more Mens Wits better than any Sermons.* Acts and Monuments Vol. 1 p. 610. Col. 2.

Did not *David* speak of Praising God with Cymbals, yea loud Sounding Cymbals; 150 *Psal.* 3, 4, 5, Vers. Praise him in the sound of the Trumpet: Praise him upon the Lute and Harp, Praise him in the Cymbals and Dances: Praise him upon the Strings and Pipe. Obj.

*Moses* for the hardness of the *Jews* Hearts, suffered a Writing of Divorce to be given, and the Wife to be put away, but from the beginning it was not so. The *Jews* were a very perverse and carnal People, and therefore God dealt with them, as an indulgent Parent with a forward Child, who will *Cedere à Jure*, sometimes indulging it in things not so agreeable to the exactest Rules of Prudence, rather than too much to thwart and regrave upon its Temper. The Prophet saith, God gave them Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they should not live. Ref. 20 Ezek. 25.

The *Jews* were very much acquainted with, and addicted to the Heathen Rites, they had an emulation to be like other Nations, and for that reason desired a King, which God was pleased to comply with them in; though *Samuel* had ruled over them as one that was just, fearing God. Nay, the Lord said in desiring a King, they had not so much rejected the Prophet, as himself, yet he gratified them in their requests. The Heathens in their Worship made use of Altars, Sacrifices, Priests, and they ministering too in Linnen Garments; as *Tertullian* observes, *Linteam propriam Osfridū Vestem appellat*; yea and Musick too. Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* had the Cornet, Harp, Sackbut, Psalter, and all sorts of Musick, to sound when the great Image which he sate up to be (a) worshipped. *Homer* saith, that the *Greeks* worshipped the Heathen Gods with the Harp; *Bacchus* had his \* Drummers: With the same Instrument the *Phrygians* performed their Service to *Cybele*. And the *Egyptians* celebrated their Divine Rights to *Isis* with a Timbrel. That the *Jews* had spent much time among the *Egyptians*, and had a fondness of their, and other Heathen Rites, is the Opinion of Learned Men. And if God dispensed with the use of some of their Ceremonies, to be used in the Worship of himself the true God, which they used in the Service of their Idols, we may conclude from thence, that he was an indulgent Father towards forward Children, rather than that it is a lawful and laudable Custom in the Christian Church, because it was sometimes used in the Jewish, and indulged by God to them as a carnal and teachy Generation.

(a) *Clemens* of *Alexandria* observed, that *Orpheus* and those ancient Musicians drew in Men by their Singing and the sweetness of their Musick, to render them miserable Slaves to Idols.

\* *Τυμπανοφόρος. Sacerdotes cybelis, que tympanorum pulsa & cornuum cantu Jovis vagitus celabant Saturnum. Nota in Horat.*

This-

This very reason *Aquinas* gives; *In veteri instrumento usus erat talium Instrumentorum [Scil. Musicae.] Quia populus erat durus & Carnalis.* That is, God indulged them the use of Musick under the Law, because they were a carnal and perverse People. And may we not then conclude with *Solomon*, who had got him Men-fingers and Women-fingers, and Musical Instruments of all sorts, that they were no better than Vanity. But supposing it an innocent Rite in it self; yet if accidentally it be evil, scandalizing our weak Brethren, and causing them to separate from us as too much symbolizing with *Rome*, shall we not give a yieldance so far as we lawfully may to gain a weak Brother? The reason why *Gregory* advised *Leander* to lay aside the Ceremony of dipping the Child thrice in Baptism, was because Hereticks did so. *Quia nunc ac Hæreticis infans in Baptismate tertio mergebatur fiendum apud vos esse non censeo.*

*Nec cum hereticis commune quicquam habuerant, Cent. Magd. 4.*

*Obj.*

*Ref.*

This is a Scandal taken, not given.

Admit it be so, yet a wife and kind Parent will take down that Threshold at which his Child is apt to stumble, though perhaps it might be for some good purpose placed in the House, and at which the Child needs not falter if it would look well to its Feet.

Would our Superiors grant this, the *Psalms of David* might then be read in the New Translation, which certainly must be accounted the best, because the other parts of Scripture are ordered to be read in the Church according to the last Version. Why then should the *Psalms of David* (which are the very Cream of the sincere Milk of the Word) be read or sung in the Old Translation, but because by their punctuation they are measured out for the Quire; which Custom is a certain hindrance to Edification, whilst a great part of the Congregation may go along with the Sound, but cannot carry along with them the Sense of so considerable and excellent a part of Holy Writ. *Aliqui sunt* (saith *Aquinas*) *qui non intelligunt quid cantatur.* But suppose them read and not sung; yet when they are read alternately, one Verse by the Minister, the other by the People, the latter Verse will be no better than an inarticulate sound, and confused noise to those who are unlearned, and cannot read, or to them who have not their Books at hand to go along with the Congregation; as may be easily experimented in our *London Congregations*, where this Form of Reading is commonly, if not universally observed.

Another Custom or Manner of performing Divine Service which must not be omitted (at least in Cathedrals) is reading the second Service at the Altar. A thing which to some seems out of the Churches Power to injoin, which can only use it in commanding things proper to Edification. For whilst the People sit in the lower part of the Quire they may hear the noise of the Minister's Voice, who is reading the Service at the Altar, but no distinction of sound, as hath been often experimented. And I'd fain know whether the Practice of the Roman Church by performing their Service in an unknown Tongue, or secret Whispers of a

strict



Priest can less tend to Edification or Instruction, then to render it unintelligible by removing beyond the Ken or Compass of the Ear, or by causing it to be uttered by the confused noise of a mixed Multitude? Which I leave to those who are of highest esteem in the Church to judge of: As also to take into their Consideration how far a Reformation of our Publick Service may be advisable and necessary, in regard to the Form of it, in this and some other respects.

2dly, The next thing I have to offer is as to the Length and Burthen of it, a Task which neither we nor our Forefathers were ever able to bear: Were this grievance redrest, that occasion of Scandal cast upon the Rulers and Dignitaries of the Church might be removed, the Complaints of the weary and heavy laden Ministers of the Church silenced, who may in the mean time be tempted perhaps to speak unadvisedly with their Lips, and say; *Must we still like Issachar couch down under this heavy Burthen, whilst such as impose it, will scarce touch it with a tip of their own Fingers, to ease others, or to perform it for themselves.* Aquinas Dicit enim Greg. & habetur in decretis distinct. 92. Can. in sacra Romana Ecclesia Doctor observet, a Work beneath them.

*Ecclesia constituo ut in sede hac, scil. Romanâ Ecclesia sacri altaris ministri, cantare non debeant.*

When we see the Masters of our Assemblies engage the meanest among Priests in the Celebration of the Divine Service of the Church, by Reading or Singing of it, we may conclude they think it either too mean, or too hard for themselves.

As to the first, there's none of us have reason to think any Work of the Lord beneath them. We can labour as in the Fire, work in the Furnaces and Brick-kilns with great delight, if we may thereby prepare for building the Lord's Temple. (a) But our Task-masters have doubled the Tale of our Brick to that degree, that though we work hard, yet un- less our Strength were the Strength of Stones we never can accomplish our Task; and whoever shall fall short, the Law hath provided it shall be made up with Stripes, which will make deep furrows upon the Backs of those, that shall happen to fall under the dint or Lash of it. This Grievance in some Cities and Corporations, by the Wealth and Kindness of the People hath been much provided against, clubbing their Purse, and providing Readers to discharge their Ministers of the Burthen of the Desk: As knowing that they on whom necessity is laid, and Woes denounced against them, if they Preach not the Gospel, will find work enough in the Pulpit. But this were an unreasonable expectancy in Country Villages, where the number of the People is small, and their substance less. Where, in many places two or three Cures will scarce do more.

(a) Καὶ ὅτι ἐπεὶ  
ἡ βασιλεὺς ἐβασί-  
λευσεν ὅτι  
ἡ νόμος.  
Supra modum,  
supra vires  
gravati sumus,  
2 Cor. I. 8.

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

more than afford Necessaries for an ordinary Subsistence or Livelihood; nor provide larger Supplies, than could answer the reasonable Desires of that contented Man, viz. *Sit mihi mensa tripes, & concha puri salu, & toga quæ defenderit frigus licet crassa queat.*

Yet so vast and opulent are the Revenues of the Church, that as there needs no other Arguments to prove the incomparable Charity and Bounty of our Ancestors: So also a Sufficiency, yea a Redundancy for the Support of the Office and Work of the Ministry: But so disproportionate hath the distribution of them been, that whilst some have lived delicately, and fared deliciously every day; others can scarce find a Competency to furnish their Tables with daily Bread: And is it not a Grievance, that the most difficult and constant Labour should meet with the least Encouragement?

'Tis scarce credible to relate to what Sums the Accruments and Perquisites of the Bishopricks in England did amount to, upon their Restoration with Charles II. Had not immense Treasures descended into their Coffers the many extravagant Works of State and Magnificence (Vain-glory some think) Acts of Piety and Charity could never have exhauited such unaccountable Sums (as are by Dr. C. computed) out of them: He tells us that Dr. *Faxon*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, gave or expended in Building, Repairing, Redemption of Captives, &c. 48000 *l.* Sterling, besides 16000 *l.* abated to the Tenants. *Gilbert Sheldon*, Bishop of *London*, afterwards Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, gave and bestowed in such like expences, besides his common Disbursements and what he left to his Heirs and Executors 40000 *l.* *Brian Duppa*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, in such like Charges, together with the Abatements of Fines to his Tenants 46000 *l.* Dr. *Fruen*, Arch-bishop of *York* 15000 *l.* Dr. *Conings*, Bishop of *Durham* 44000 *l.* Dr. *Warner*, Bishop of *Rochester* 30000 *l.* Besides the Building of a Colledge for poor Clergy-mens Widows which cost 7200 *l.* which was besides endowed by him with ample Provisions, besides 50 *l.* per Annum Rent-charge, for maintaining of a Chappain: Nor were the Deans and Chapters less liberal in proportion; so much that the several Sums when put together amount to no less than 443000 *l.* besides the Monies they spent in their Splendid way of living, together with their Equipage and Retinue, not to mention their personal and real Estates they left behind them to aggrandize their Posterities, and to make their Names great: But whilst the Prelates wallowed in their overgrown Wealth, how many laborious Ministers, lay swelkt and macerated with the Heat and Burthen imposed upon them in the Worthip of God? Their Task being over proportioned to their Strength, and their Work to their Wages. But our hope is that our Task-masters are neither of the *Egyptian* Race, nor Temper, but will either lessen our tale of Brick, or allow so much Straw, such additional Augmentations to those Churches which lack, that assistants may be procured and paid, for the Support

and

and Aid: of such as labour in the Word and Doctrine; or else that such liberty may be granted them on whom necessity is laid to Preach the Gospel, that they may not like *Iffachar* be prest above measure; and be forced to sink down under two heavy Burthens of the Desk and Pulpit. Such Indulgence will make the Yoak of the Church like that of the Gospel, eatic and its burthen light.

The Commands of God are not grievous, shall not the Churches be so too? If not, we may be a willing, but scarce in all points can we be an obedient People in the day of our Humane weakness. This would tend to stop those Mouths which have been opened wide with Reflections upon the Imposers, charging them with a Design, by this means to supersede and discharge the other part of Divine Worship (if it will be allowed to be a part) *viz.* Preaching the Gospel, Spinning the Thread of the Common Prayer to that length, as must necessitate the cutting very short, or wholly cutting off the Thread of their other Discourses, which they conceive as due to the Command of God, and just expectation of the People: Enlarging the Desk to such dimensions, as either wholly to juggle the Pulpit out of doors, or else crowd it up into so narrow a corner, as if it were a needless Utensil in the House of God, and piece of Lumber that might very well be spared, as the warm Discourses of some hot-headed Men have too plainly intimated, which hath caused many to flee from our Tents, and to desert our Communion, as too much resembling the Church of *Rome*, who would possess the People, that a great deal of Mass is too little, and a little Preaching too much for Edification.

Such unhappy Wedges have some high-flown Men been to split and divide us, though we have been always apt to Sacrifice to other Nets for our Schisms, being very quick to discover the Motes in our Brethrens Eyes, but very slow of Heart to believe or discern the Beam in our own.

Common Prudence, and ordinary Kindness are sufficient Arguments, to induce and oblige our Rulers to proportion the Work, to the Ability and Strength of the Workman, otherwise he must sink under the Weight, and languish under the Fatigue of his Employment. A good Man is merciful to his Beast, he will not set too long Stages, nor over drive his Flock lest it dies; And whether the Metaphor be proper in the Case, I'll appeal no further than the Wisdom and Consideration of our Superiors: Let them judge, whether the first and second Service in the Morning, the Evening Office and Catechising, besides twice Preaching, and Praying in the Pulpit, (for he that hath a double cure can't do less) though we should not insist upon the frequent Additionals of one, or sometimes several other Offices, *viz.* the Administration of both the Sacraments, Burial of the Dead, Thanksgiving after Child-bearing; Letters directed from the King, Orders from the Bishops, several Canons and Statute-

Laws, &c. appointed, and which must be read? Whether all these, considered as they be enumerated, be a reasonable Task for a single and meek Man, whose Strength is not the strength of Stones, nor Flesh of Brass? If any part of the Liturgy (as the case stands) be omitted, the Law is violated, the Penalty incurred, our Superiors offended, and the Person rendered obnoxious to the Malice, or Mercy; that is, cruelty of every Informer.

But we hope better things of you, our most Reverend Fathers and Brethren, and such as do accompany a Spirit of Moderation, and Compassion towards those who have hitherto laboured as in an Iron Furnace; prest down out of measure, and sinking under an intollerable Burthen: Our humble and earnest address therefore is, that though our Forefathers made our Yoak grievous; yet now you will make the grievous Service of our Fathers, and their Yoak which they put upon us lighter: If you will answer us, and speak good Words to us, we will be your Servants for ever.

1 Kings 12.  
4. 7.

### *Of the Lord's Prayer and Doxology.*

**B**UT if whilst we are pleading to have the Common Prayers shortened, we do not Wyar-draw our own beyond the Staple, and spin them to too great a length: I would in the next place descend to Particulars.

The first thing which I would, if (I might not give offence) instance in, is the Lord's Prayer, to which I may join the Doxology, which are so often at the same time repeated, as if we thought to be accepted for our much speaking, and that the Effect and Vertue of those parts of our Liturgy, like the Papists Rosary, do depend upon the tale and number of our Repetitions.

In the fourth Council of To-  
let, Can. 9. It is but once a day that the Lord's Prayer is enjoined against them that used it on the Lord's Day only; and by the 17th. Can. It appears it was used but once that day, Grand debate, p. 121.

The *Gloria Patri* is appointed to be said six times ordinarily in every Morning and Evening Services, frequently eight times, in a Morning sometimes ten, Grand. debate, p. 13.

The Doxology in the constant Office every Sunday Morning (as the *Psalms* happen to be read) is according to the Rubrick to be repeated eight or ten times, besides the use of it in Additional Offices: And the Lord's Prayer in the Forenoon four times in the Desk, and once in the Pulpit; besides the additional use of it in other Offices which frequently occur: So that whilst *Titius* blames *Sempronius* for his Tautologies, *Sempronius* reflects upon *Titius* for his Pharisaical and Vain Repetitions. 'Tis true, our Service in this respect is

is of the same shape into which our first Reformers likt it ; so that to find fault with our Liturgy upon these accounts, is to cast the blemish upon them, and to trample upon the Ashes of many holy Martyrs, who Sealed the Reformation with their Blood.

Obj.

*Pudet hæc opprobria* : I know no wise Man that can pretend to blame them for doing no more, but rather rise up, and bless them, or rather God for them, who enabled them to do so much.

Ref.

They stopt the Ferment of Popery in the highest Ebullition of it ; but by reason of the short Reign of King Edward, they wanted time, not will to perfect the Cure, as may appear by the ingenuous Confessions of Cranmer, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and divers other Doctors and Fathers of the Church, that many superfluous things remained, yet to be taken away, which they earnestly desired and long'd for. *Multi graves*

*Epist. ad Verd.*

*virī inter alios Cranmerus fatebatur ingenue multa detracta oportere superflua, & ardentibus votis cupiebant ea in melius correctā, fuitque hoc Cranmeri votum ad Calvinum scribentis, &c.* They had abolisht the Mass, changed the Service or Celebration of it in an unknown Tongue; they had extinguishd Purgatory, the Doctrine of Supererogation, Praying to Saints, Adoration of Images, and many other things they had to say, but the People could not bear them then : But now God invites, the King (next under God our Redeemer from an almost Irrecoverable Relapse into Popery) invites, many of the faithful Fathers and Ministers of the Church invite, and plead to perfect our Reformation, and to unite the Protestant Interest : We have now a Price put into our Hands, and have we yet no Heart to improve it ? Shall we still sell our selves to work Iniquity, and to sow the Seeds of Strife, those Tares in the Field of our Church ? Shall we never see the things which concern our Peace ? Shall we still sacrifice our Interests to our Revenge, and reck our Malice upon one another ? Why should we any longer strive, and do wrong to each other, for we are Brethren ? And though perhaps this may be but a techy Argument to treat upon, provoking Men to say or think at least, that we grutch or envy the Glory that is paid to God, or undervalue that absolute Form of Prayer, which Christ taught his Disciples ; which is so far from my design (my Conscience bearing me witness) if I mistake not my self, that I think it needless to spend the least either of my time, or Ink to wipe off the Imputation. The main Reason why an alteration in this respect is desired, being, that the Form of our Publick Worship might be so modelled, that we may all unanimously, and without offence concur in the Celebration of it.



## Concerning Christ's descent into Hell.

That the Articles of Faith and Subject Matter of Prayer should be clear and perspicuous, sure no Man questions? When they are dark and disputable, it will be impossible, or very difficult to observe St. Paul's Rule, of lifting up clean Hands without wrath and doubting: Now that Christ descended into Hell is not only daily to be confest and generally owned by the Congregation as an undoubted Article of their Faith, but particularly subscribed by every Minister of the Church before his admission to any publick Employment in the Church as one of the Articles of Religion: In these words.

[As Christ died and was buried, so also it is to be believed that he went down into Hell.] A Subject very much controverted, and hath afforded Matter of great dispute; the terms of the Proposition being variously interpreted, and taken in a different Sense; some expounding descent for a Personal, some for a vextual going down into Hell, acting as the Sun doth in *inferiora per calorem & influxum*. Some will have it for continuing in the (a) State of the Dead: Mr. Broughton hath a peculiar Notion of the Phrase, viz. That Christ's descending into Hell signifies his going into a Place of Happiness, which his Soul took possession of, so soon as it was parted from his Body, which I may have occasion further to take notice of hereafter.

(a) *Hic mortis status, non locus aliquis infernalis aperte intelligitur. Sic Euseb. Cæsare, &c. Vid. Sanford. Lib.*

*de descensu ad inferos tertiam.*

As to the place of Descent some think it to be the Grave, others the place of the Damned, if the former then dead and buried is the same with the ensuing Phrase, *He descended into Hell*; for as *Ruffinus* observes this Article was left out of the more ancient (b) Copies of the Creed. *Vn tamen Verbi eadem videtur esse, quod sepultus dicitur*: This was made an Article of Religion in the time of Edward the Sixth, and required to be subscribed to, but then they explained the Sense of it, and the manner how our Saviour descended, viz. That the Body of Christ laid in the Grave till the Resurrection, but his Spirit which he gave up, was with the Spirits which were detained in Prison or in Hell, and preached to them: But since that, the Article is continued, and in a Synod held in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth is recognized, but simply without any Explication. In the ancient Creeds this Article is not to be found; so *Ruffinus* observes in *Expositione Symboli*. *Sciendum est (saith he) in Ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum Descendit ad inferna. Sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo.* In the ancient Copies of Creeds delivered

(b) Consult Sanford, & Parker's continual lib. 4. de descensu ad inferos, pag. 38.



delivered to the Church of Jerusalem both larger and lesser there is no mention of this Article; the Words being thus expressed, *ταυθέντα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα, ἐν τριτῷ*. That is, being Crucified and Buried, he rose again from the Dead.

In that of *Alexandria* and presented to *Constantine* by (c) *Arrius*, Presbyter of that Church, we read thus; *Τὸν \* κατεβύβητα, καὶ παρεβύβητα, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα*. That is, he came, was made Flesh, suffered, and rose again.

(c) Feigning himself at that time Orthodox. \* *Σοζομ*  
*ἐλθόντα καὶ πάρετα ἀναλαβόντα*.

In a Copy drawn up and delivered to the *Nicene Fathers*, thus, *Πολιτευσάμενον, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*. He dwelt among us, suffered, and the third day rose again. In another Copy received by *Constantine*, and all the *Arrian Fathers* drawn up (as Bishop *Usher* observes) for a more clear Condemnation of the *Arrian Heresie*, it runs thus, *viz. Ἐνανθροπίαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα*. He was made Man, suffered, and rose again: In another larger Copy of the Creed mentioned by *Epiphanius*, as the same Bishop observes: The Words are, *ταυθέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Πόντιου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα*. That is, he was Crucified for us under *Pontius Pilate*, suffered and was buried, and rose again the Third day, &c.

In the larger Symbol of *Anathasius* we find it thus; *καὶ ἀναληφθεὶς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. That is, he was buried, he rose again, and was received up into Heaven. In an ancient Copy written in a Welch Character, which the aforesaid Bishop found in the Library at *Oxford*, this Article is not mentioned, but only crucified, dead and buried, he rose again the third day. But about four hundred Years after Christ, it was

brought into the Roman Creed, who received it from *Aquileia*. 'Tis true, in the Apostles Creed we find it thus exprest, *κατεβύβητα εἰς χεῖρας ἡρώδης, descendit ad inferna*: He descended into the lower parts of the Earth. In some later Copies we read it *εἰς ᾅδην, vel ᾅδου. scil. τόπον*; which word *ᾅδης* is diversely interpreted. Mr. Broughton in his Treatise upon this Article of the Creed, which he wrote in Greek to the *Geneveans* induceth a Cloud of Testimonies to prove that the word *ᾅδης* did not only signify a Place for bad Men; but also a Paradise for the Just, *οἱ σωφρονεῖται τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὡςον μακαριζούντων εἶναι τὰ ἐν ᾅδῃ κείμενα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς δικαίοις, καὶ ταλαιπωλεῖν τὰ ἐπιχρεῖα τῶν ἀδίκων ἐν ταρταρῷ*. That is, the wisest Heathens held that Happiness consisted in those things, which by God were laid up for good Men in *Hades*, and torment which betides evil Men in *Tartarus*: And therefore would have the Phrase *κατεβύβητα εἰς ᾅδην*, with relation to our Saviour, to signify his going into Paradise, and entering into the Joy of his Lord; because it could not

\* But what need we retail this truth, when (as Mr. Perkins observes) that in above threescore Creeds of the most ancient Councils and Fathers, these words of his descent into Hell are not to be found; some think they crept in by negligence. *Erasmus* saith, *Nic in Symbolo Orientalium Ecclesiarum nec in Romano hanc particulam. [Scil. Descendisse ad inferos] fuisse additam testis Cyprianus, nec recensetur apud Tertullianum vetustissimum Scriptorem. Cæloq. Inquis. de fide. Scendum sane est quod in Ecclesie Romane Symbolo non habetur additam Descendit ad inferna, sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic sermo, vis tamen verbi eadem videtur quod sepultus Cypri. exposcit in symbolum. Si sit Opus Cypriani. Pag. 372.*

be supposed that the Soul of such a Person should after Death go to any other place than Paradise, where the Thief was to meet him the very day of his Crucifixion, *ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα ἀποθνήσκῃ, ἵνα καὶ τὸν κλέπτην ὄψῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν κειμένοντος αἰῶνος*. When the Soul of our Saviour left his Body it forsook this World, and straight way went to the Saints, which slept from the beginning: But though I confess the Argument of this very Learned Man doth not convince me, that our Saviour did not descend into Hell; (because, supposing Christ had no inherent guilt, yet imputatively he was a great Sinner, and so was to bear that burthen, to suffer that Punishment which was due to Sinners; and for that reason, as also that he might make a full Conquest of the Powers of Hell; and as our *Samson* take the Gates of Death and Hell off the Hinges, that they might not prevail against us, *be descended into Hell*;) Yet I confess when there are so many Questions and Disputes concerning the Terms, and Sense of the Proposition, and that for so many Centuries the Article was not inserted into the Creed; 'tis hard that in *terminis* we must be obliged to subscribe it, or be deprived of the Exercise of our Ministry. In the *Zurick* Confession allowed both by King *Edward* and Queen *Elizabeth*, it is affirmed, that by *Adus* or *inferi*, the Place of Punishment is not to be understood: Their Words are, *per inferos non intelligimus locum supplicii designatum impiis, &c.*—Proinde anima Christi descendit ad inferos, id est delata est in sinum Abraham in quo collecti fuere omnes defuncti fideles. The Soul of Christ went down to the lower parts; that is, it was carried into *Abraham's Bosom*, where all that have departed in the Faith are gathered together: From the disputable Sense of the Terms and Meaning of the Proposition; as also the total Omission, or not inserting of the Article in the Apostles Creed for so many Centuries as is abovesaid, it may put Christians to a very great loss to know where their Faith in this respect shall fix the sole of its Foot. But if this Article must be exprest,

(a) *Andradius* defendit descensum Christi in infernum meam esse traditionem, & Scripturis probari non posse.

*Augustinus* de descensu Christi in sinum Abraham verba faciens nulla hic Expressa profertur Scripturae auctoritas. *Henricus Vicius* ita habet ipsa verba testantur (inquit) eum ab Apostolis esse traditum quando ea nusquam extant in Scriptura. *Sanford*, de descensu, &c. lib. 4. *Reginaldus* Episcopus *Cicestrensis* non dubitavit affirmare non esse de fide. descensum scilicet Christi ad inferos, ibid.

why might it not be inserted in the very Words of Scripture? 4 *Eph. 9.* Τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη, τὸ ἐστὶν εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μὲν τῆς γῆς; Now that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower parts of the Earth? The Words of the Creed made at *Sirmium* bear this Sense, viz. εἰς τὰ κατώτερα κατέβη. Were the Words the same with Scripture none could scruple either to confess or subscribe them. This was the Opinion of *Acontius*, who tells us, that the Articles of Faith, should not only be necessary true and certain, but as much as may be should be comprised in the exprest Words of (a) Scripture, or in the Words which that holy Spirit (which by our Lord was promised to teach us all things) was pleased to make use of.

## Concerning the (b) Athanasian Creed.

(b) But 'tis much doubted whether it

was ever the Contrivance of St. Athanasius. *Quæstus* saith it was Composed by *Vigilius Tapsensis*, for which he gives several probable Conjectures; the best is that he framed several Confessions of Faith under the Name of St. Athanasius, and perhaps this was one. A late and great Author saith that 'tis certainly the Work of a *Latin* Author translated into *Greek*; and likewise avers, that all the World agrees it was none of his. But let this pass, being not so pertinent to our present design.

**N**O R hath our Faith a more sure footing while we are obliged to walk upon the ridge of the *Athanasian Creed*; especially seeing we are bound to go tip-toes too, and at the highest stretch: For by the Preface of it, we are obliged to believe it *in terminis*, as there laid down upon pain of Damnation. *Whosoever will be saved, 'tis necessary above all things that he holds the Catholick Faith, which Faith is, &c.* yet give me leave to premise before I proceed, that I am neither *Arrian* nor *Socinian*; I deny not the Worship \* nor Divinity of our Saviour; and because I am commanded to pay him the former, I think my self obliged to acknowledge the latter; for I hope I am not awed, or cowed into the Belief by the meer Authority and Command of the Church, but by the invincible Authority of Scripture and Reason: The Scripture speaks so expressly, that he who runs may read it: If we had said as they to our Saviour, *If thou be the Christ bold us not in doubt, tell us plainly.* Had we said if Christ be God, the Holy Ghost be God; tell us plainly; if there be three Persons and one God hold us not in doubt: To which methinks the Scripture replies. There be three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one *τὸ ὕν*, which cannot be interpreted for a bare Unity of Consent; because it seems contradicting distinguished from it; and which is mentioned in the following words, there be three that bear Record upon Earth, the Spirit, the Water and the Blood, and these three agree in one, *τὸ ὕν*. Besides that I may not be suspected guilty of *Socinianism*: I will beg the Reader's Patience to dispense with a small Digression, in giving some little account of that Faith which is in me, and reason of it.

\* St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians* saith, that he who conceives Christ to be a meer Man [his Words are *μὴ δὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι νομίζῃ*] is a Serpent, a Deceiver and Destroyer of Men by his Doctrine, p. 181. He takes notice of such also in his Epistle to the *Trallians*, *Τίνας ὁ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν ἰσὺν μὴ δὲν ἀνθρώπου εἶναι λέγουσι*, p. 160. Edit. Voss.

He that is to be worshipt with Divine Honour is God, but Christ is so to be worshipt; and therefore I believe him to be God. The major Proposition is built upon the tryed Foundation of a Divine Law, *viz. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* Besides when

(a) 10 Acts  
25. and as  
Peter was com-  
ing in, Cor-  
nelius met him;  
and fell down  
at his feet, and  
worshiped him.  
But Peter took  
him up, saying,  
stand up I my  
self also am a  
Man.

when St. John fell down to worship the Angel he forbade it; and the reason was because he was his fellow (a) Creature: Now this reason which the Angel gave was good, or it was not; If it was good then a *Quatenus ad omne valet consequentia*; If it had not been good (which I suppose none will be so bold as to assert) then St. John might have reply'd, Though you be a Creature, yet you may be worshipt, for Christ was so, and yet he is not only allowed, but commanded to be worshipt; And let all the Angels worship him, 1 Heb. 6. which words so convince Socinus, that in his disputation with some Arrians in the Hall of Paulicovius, he cried out, *Tam certus sum Christum esse adorandum, quam me pileum in manu habere.*

But that which is a further Ground and Pillar to this Faith which is in me, is the Parity and Likeness of that Honour which is given to the Father and the Son: And for this purpose it was, that all Judgment was committed to the Son, namely that all Men might honour the Son as they honour the Father. From whence I argue thus; that betwixt a Creature and the great Creator, there is an infinite disproportion, for one is finite and the other infinite; but there is no such disproportion betwixt God the Father and his Son Ergo. The Minor is proved thus, where Objects are infinitely disproportionate and beneath one and other, there the same Honour and Worship is not to be paid and performed: But the same Honour and Worship is to be given to the Son which is paid to the Father; therefore they are not so different and disproportionate, for shall we offer that to God that we will not offer to our Prince? Shall we pay the same Reverence to him that grindeth at the Mill, which is due to him that sits upon the Throne? Shall we worship the Creature with the same Worship, which we give to the Creator? Wherefore if God command us to worship the Son as we honour the Father, we may account it no robbery to esteem him co-equal to him and co-essential with him; which would be impossible where there is an infinite distance, as there is betwixt God, and the most exalted Creature in Heaven or Earth.

Yet to have this Article of Faith spun out and wyar-drawn into too many, and nice Propositions by a single Doctor of the Church, and then imposed upon it, to all Generations upon pain of Damnation, seems too strict an Imposition upon the Faith of Christians. Aquinas saith it was not composed *per modum Symboli, sed per modum Doctrinae*; not with a purpose to impose it upon others, but to declare his own Belief. Dr. Taylour saith, that many of the ancient Bishops who did believe this thing, yet did not like the Nicety and Curiosity of expressing it; yea, many wise Personages think the Church had been more happy if she had not been in some sense constrained to alter the simplicity of her Faith, and make it more curious and articulate; insomuch that he had need be a very subtle Man to understand the very Words of the new Determinations.

When

22. q. 1. art.  
10. R. ad 3.  
an.

Lib. of Proph.  
p. 46.

When we stand upon the brink of this great Myſtery (for without Controverſie it is no leſs) it cannot but make us cry out, *Oh, the height, depth, length and breadth of it : How unſearchable is this Divine Eſſence, this Being which is paſt finding out.* And tho' with that ancient \* Father I have \* *Tertullian.* ſo far given up my Faith to the Conduct of Divine Writ, as to ſay, *Propoſe me Credo quia impoſſibile :* To believe what the Scripture ſaith, though I cannot untie every knot, and ſolve by my feeble Reaſon every *δυσκόλον* that is in it : Yet I think ſuch things ought to be ſtated with Modesty, and urged with Candor upon the Conſciences of Men. I believe that he will believe which ſerves God with his whole Heart, that honours the Divine Being it or no, and in whom he is ſenſible he lives, moves, and hath his Being, that out of a Principle of Love and Duty obſerves his Laws, both of the firſt and ſecond Table ſo far as he is able, he that fears God and works Righteouſneſs ſhall be accepted of him, though he ſhould not have ſo clear and diſtinct a Notion of the Trinity in Unity, and Unity in Trinity ; or have a ſettled Faith and Belief of every Propoſition expreſſed in the Syſteme compoſed by (o) *Athanaſius* (but not deſigned, as ſome affirm to be the Standard of the Churches Faith) viz. That there are not three Lords but one Lord, that the Son is of the Father alone ; the Holy Ghoſt of the Father and of the Son, that none of the Perſons are before or after each other : Theſe are nice Speculations and intricate Propoſitions. And that every ſingle and well-meaning Chriſtian muſt perſiſt everlaſtingly that believes them not, is a Censure too uncharitable to offer to the Church, or to be uſed by the Church. And that whoever will be ſaved muſt thus think of the Trinity. *Hofius*, the Biſhop of *Corduba*, ſpeaking of this ſubject ſaith, *That it is a Matter ſo nice, ſo obſcure and intricate, that it was neither to be explicated by the Clergy, or underſtood by the People.*

Befides there be ſeveral difficult Propoſitions concerning that great Is not this Myſtery of Godlineſs, *Chriſt manifeſt in the Fleſh, and Incarnation of our Kueſt'ion this Saviour*, viz. [That Chriſt is one not by Converſion of the Godhead into Fleſh, but by taking the Manhood into God, one altogether, not by confuſion of Subſtance, but by unity of Perſon : And that this, &c. is the Catholick Faith, which except a Man believe he cannot be ſaved.] Which Propoſitions ſhould they be repeated to many a ſimple, and yet ſincere Chriſtian, they would ſeem little leſs to them than *Sampſon's* Riddle, and ſhall we deny Salvation to thoſe who have not an explicite Faith, of thoſe things they underſtand not ? If Water aſcends higher than the Fountain from whence it ſprings, the Motion muſt be aſcribed to force : If Faith ſhould aſcend beyond Knowledge (if ſuch may be called Faith) 'tis no better than force, or fancy to compel that to be confeſſed with

It ought to be conſidered concerning *Athanaſius's* Creed how many People underſtand it not, *Lib. of Proph. p. 54.* I confeſs, ſaith that Author, I cannot ſee the moderate Sentence and gentleneſs of Charity in this Preface and Concluſion as then was in the *Nicene* Creed ; nothing there but damnation and perſiſhing everlaſtingly, unleſs the Article of the Trinity be believed, as it is there with Curioſity and minute Particulars explained. *Ibid. pag. 54.*



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

the Mouth which is not believed with the Heart, because it never entered into the Head. Doth it not therefore concern the Fathers of the Church to consider (now that they have a Price put into their Hands) whether this be not to make the Gate of Heaven narrower than God hath made it, which is already so streight, that alas! there be too few that find it.

## Of Regeneration by the Spirit.

**A**Nother thing which might justly deserve the Notice of our Reverend Brethren and Fathers of the Church, is the Doctrine of Regeneration by the Spirit, which I take to be an act of Grace upon the Heart (a) renewing that Image which was drawn in Righteousness and true Holiness; But alas! How have we effac'd it, and sought out many Inventions, in the Croud of which we lost our Integrity? God had at first imbarckt our Innocency in a Vessel sufficiently built to have secured the Cargo, and finally to have brought the Soul safe to its desirable Port: I mean Heaven, he having put on board with it, that which might with due watchfulness and care have secured it, viz. *A posse non peccandi*. But hapning where two Seas met: I mean Satan's Policy, and Man's Frailty, or facile Disposition, being too gentle and easie to be intreated by his

(a) Unto whom now I send thee, to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, &c. Acts 26. 17.

Temptrations, he suffered Shipwrack of a good Conscience, losing that which the whole World was not competent to redeem; For alas! What can be given in exchange for the Soul? But God would not suffer the Sea to swallow such a Prize; and therefore when he saw Man labouring for Life, in the midst of those mighty Waves, those Waters of Iniquity he cast out a Plank, *Post naufragium tabulam*, by which he came safe to Land, he set up this Bankrupt again with a fresh Stock, putting him into a Capacity and State of Salvation by a Redeemer; but upon such Terms and Conditions as he thought fit to appoint and prescribe, viz. *That unless we believe, we should not be saved, except we be regenerate and born again, we should not enter into the Kingdom of God*; But as the Wind blows where it listeth, so the Spirit works these Graces when and where it pleaseth, observing the Rule and Method he hath pleased to prescribe to himself, viz. *As he hath chosen us in Christ Jesus*; And therefore we cannot affirm that wherever the Means is used, that the End *ex opere operato* is certainly attained, especially in such subjects as are altogether incapable of it; as I take Infants to be of Regeneration upon the Administration of Baptism; Unless it be said of Regeneration, as *Aquinas* saith concerning the Infant's being Catechiz'd before it be Baptiz'd, *Accommodat eis Ecclesia aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum aures ut audiant, & intellectum ut per alios instruantur*: But he that is regenerated by a Proxy will



will be saved so too. But suppose they be renew'd, yet this Operation or Work of the Spirit is much in the dark, there are no visible Footsteps or Impressions left behind it, by which we can trace the Goings of the Almighty, no more than that of a Serpent upon a Rock, a Bird in the Air, or Ship in the Sea; if there be any Work of God upon the Soul of the Infant, 'tis very cryptical, 'tis hid from our Eyes: We may say as the Lord said to Job, *He hath made a Cloud the garment of it, and thick darkness a swaddling Band for it.* 38 Job 9.

If any shall say, that though the Child in such tender Age be not a capable subject of the Act, yet it may be of the Habit: Thus it is accounted a Rational Creature, though it cannot for the present exert and shew forth the Faculties which are potentially in it: But no sooner doth the Child grow up towards Years of Maturity, but those Seminal and Radical Powers of their own accord pullulate and spring up into Act; the Rose which feminally or potentially laid dormant in the Root of the Plant, of its own accord buds and blossoms, upon the approaching Heat and Influence of the Sun. If the Habit of Regeneration were sown in Baptism, would it not in the Spring of Youth, begin to bud and blossom, and bring forth Almonds: I mean Acts suitable to the Nature of it; Whereas we experimentally find, no more averfeness or reprobacy to that which is good, in an unbaptized Person who never was baptismally regenerated, nor received for God's own Child by Adoption; than in one baptized according to the Ordinance of God, and Appointment of the Church: But supposing the Subject capable of this Divine Impression, yet we do not see that God doth let his Seal, or that they are sealed up to the Day of Redemption *ex opere operato*, or actual Administration of Baptism: For wherever the Work of Regeneration is wrought, the Soul is renewed in all its Faculties; such were some of you, *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* But all that are Baptismally washed are not sanctified and regenerate; for we find in adult Persons, that those who were filthy before, continue to be so still: Nay, as to those very Persons who in the Judgment of Charity do not *ponere obicem*, yet we cannot see any immediate Cause to return Thanks for its actual Regeneration by the Holy Spirit, till we find some Demonstration or Evidence more than the bare *opus operatum*, or Administration of the Baptismal Rite, that the Person is entred into the Womb of the Morning, and become a Child of Light: I mean till it becomes a second time ingrafted into the true Vine, being made an actual Partaker of the Benefits of the new Covenant, having the Understanding, Will and Affections renewed and sanctified by the Spirit. The same Stone of stumbling we find in the Prayer before Confirmation, where it is thus exprest; [*Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy Servants, by Water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them Forgiveness of all their Sins, &c.*] Must our Charity like

## *A Plea for Abatement in Matters of*

the Rain from Heaven fall upon all sorts of Persons good and bad? I have with these Eyes beheld many grown up to Man's Estate come to be Confirmed, of whom it was hard promiscuously to affirm, *That they were in a regenerate Estate, and all their Sins pardoned.*

*Obj.  
Ref.*

But these Words relate to the Benefits received at Baptism.

All Persons baptized may not be within the Compass of the Covenant, which is only made to the Faithful and their Seed, how then can we affirm, that the Children of Atheists, Infidels or Hereticks being baptized, receive the Benefits of that Covenant, which they by Virtue of any Promise can have no pretence to. But I conceive these Words intend the Pardon of Sin after Baptism for the [Forgiveness of all their Sins] must suppose a Pardon of actual Transgressions too, whereas original Sin is forgiven only in Infant-baptism.

Unless by Regeneration is meant no more in this place, than a bare Inrolment in the Church-Register, and being reckoned among Christians, or being listed among those who are Souldiers or Members of the Church Militant, who have engaged to fight the good Fight of Faith under him that is the Captain of our Salvation. If by Regeneration, and being received for God's own Child by Adoption is meant no more than being put into a salvable Estate, and being rendred a Subject capable to receive the Benefits of the new Covenant; We might have expected somewhere an Explication of the Church's Sense (as we have to prevent scruple in some other Cases) or else have found in Scripture (which would have given greater satisfaction) that the Notion of Regeneration is sometimes capable of no higher Sense: But missing of both, especially the latter, we would earnestly desire, that things of doubtful Disputation, might rather have their Seat in the Schools than in the Congregation of Christ's Flock: That we may pray in Faith, and not be obliged to return thanks for that, of which we have no certain knowledge. But that upon the Administration of Baptism, we may give thanks for the Persons admission into the external Communion of the Saints, and Fellowship of the Christian Religion, beseeching the Almighty so far to concur with, and to give a Blessing to his own Institution, that all the Purposes for which it was designed, may be effectually attained.

### *Concerning the Office of Burial of the Dead.*

\* Is all the  
Congregation  
Holy every  
one of them?  
16 Numb. 3.

NOR does our Charity hang upon a more easie tenter whilst we are obliged to celebrate the Office for burying the Dead. 'Tis true, its Charity to hope all things, to believe all things; \* But must we make no separation of the Precious from the Vile? Must we hope against

against hope, nay contrary to it? And those express Revelations of the Will of God against wicked and sinful Men. 3 *Iſa.* 11. *Woe to the wicked, it ſhall go ill with him; for the reward of his Hands ſhall be given him.* 11 *Prov.* 7. *When the wicked Man dieth, his expectation ſhall periſh.* Can we believe without a Promise, nay contrary to the plain meaning of Scripture? Why then is this charitable part of our Liturgy calculated for every Meridian, and made like the Sun in the Firmament, to ſhine upon the good and the bad, or as the Rain and Snow which come down from Heaven, that fall upon the juſt and unjuſt? *As if all things came* 9 *Eccleſ.* 2. *alike to all Men, or as if the ſame event was to the righteous, and to the wicked, to him that is clean, and to him that is unclean, to him that ſacrificeth, and to him that ſacrificeth not, to the good, and to the ſinner, to him that ſweareth, as to him that feareth an Oath.* As to natural Death, and temporary Rewards and Punishments, all things may happen alike to all Men (though the promiſe of this Life as well as that which is to come is ſometimes fulfilled unto Godlineſs) yet theſe temporary Bleſſings are no Characteriſtical Notes of the Favour of God. 'Tis an hard Matter to know Love or Hatred by the things of this Life: But as to the Bleſſings of eternal Life, they are Pearls of too great value to be hung upon thoſe Swines Snouts whoſe delight is to wallow in the Mire. 'Tis an eaſie matter to know what becomes of the hope of the Hypocrite when God takes away his Soul; How then can we extend the ſame Charity to Perſons of all ſorts and ſizes? Will a Shooe made upon one Laſt fit every Foot? Altogether as well, as to bleſs God for all Mens departure out of this Life, as a deliverance out of the Miſeries of this ſinful World; whereas perhaps the light Afflictions which here they ſuffer are but for a moment, and not to be named or compared with that exceeding, that eternal weight of Punishment, which will be revealed againſt thoſe who by the hardneſs of their Hearts, and impenitency of their Lives, have treaſured up to themſelves Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath, and the Revelation of the Righteous Judgment of God. Why ſhould we then be thought unreasonable, if we ſcruple to declare, that the Perſon who hath lived a diſſolute and prophane Life, departing hence without any demonſtration or evidence of his Faith in Chriſt, and Repentance to Salvation: To declare, I ſay, that we have a ſure and certain hope that ſuch an one ſhould be raiſed unto eternal Life? There being far greater Reaſons to fear, that the Reſurrection will be to damnation; according to what St. *John* ſaith, 5 *Joh.* 29. *They that have done good unto the Reſurrection of Life, and thoſe that have done evil to the Reſurrection of Damnation.*

But here it is alledged that the Church hath appointed Cenfures for the cutting off from her Communion ſuch as by a ſinful and impenitent Life do diſturb and trouble her, and for ſuch as are ſo cenſured and ex-communicate, the Office of Burial is forbidden to be uſed.

Obj.

Hold

Ref.

Hold your peace, we know it very well, but if by reason of the Largeness of Discipline, they escape the Punishments from Men, do they give us a sure and certain hope, that they are reconciled to God, and that they shall escape his righteous Judgments? They will scarce find how ever they may come off as to Church-Censures, and descend into the Grave with its favourable Opinion and Character; that if they have done ill, that they will come forth, unto the Resurrection of Life: And though a Person may rest in the Bosom, or external Communion of the Church; yet too too often we have little, or rather no hope, that when he is departed hence he rests in Christ: And therefore in our solemn Applications unto God, to tell him we have a sure and certain hope, of his rest in him, and that he shall be raised unto eternal Life; when we have no such hope, or any tolerable Ground or probable Argument to believe it, is to cause our Faith to act contrary to its own nature, and to ascend higher than the Fountain of Scripture, or Reason from whence it originally flows, putting our Charity upon the rack, and Conscience upon too great a stretch: Besides, how many from hence flatter themselves into a Fool's Paradise, where they expect to eat of the Tree of Life though they have fed never so foul upon forbidden Fruit; Crying, Peace, Peace, though they have walkt according to the Imagination of their own Hearts, adding drunkenness to thirst.

Encourage-  
ment to the  
bad.

For let a Person live in the Communion of the Church, though he be as bad as ever was *Cesar Borgia*, yet he shall have the same Charity extended towards him, as if he had walkt before God in Truth, and with a perfect Heart, giving God thanks for his deliverance out of the Miseries of this Life, as if he went immediately to Paradise, to make an addition to the Spirits of just Men made perfect, begging that God would accomplish the number of his Elect, and hasten his Kingdom: All which *pro subjecta materia* are applicable to the Person of the *defuncti*. May it not be a just discouragement to Holiness of Life whilst the same Expectancies and Hopes by the publick Judgment of the Church are declared concerning the worst, as well as the best of Men? Who from hence might infer, and say, *What is the Almighty that we should serve him, or what profit should we have if we pray unto him?* For the same end is to them both, to the Good and to the Sinner, so that I have cleansed my self in vain, and washt mine Hands in Innocency; when he that wallows in the Mire, and that hath defiled his Garments shall yet sit down with *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob* in the Kingdom of Heaven, which is but consequential, or the same to a rest in Christ, and a Resurrection to eternal Life; seeing then the same Office is to be applied to Persons of all sorts and circumstances, we earnestly desire, it may be so far reformed, and modelled, that the bad be not flattered, the good offended, nor the Consciences of such as minister justly scandalized.

Discourage-  
ment to the  
good.

21 Job 15.

And

And seeing that Mercy is a most acceptable Sacrifice to the Almighty, why might not this whole Office (excepting some decent Expression upon committing the Body to the Ground) be performed within the Church, where the Minister and People are secured from the Wind and Wet, and other extremities of Weather, to which they (especially, who are to attend bare headed) are exposed, whilst they continue *sub Dio*, and remain in the open Air.

But the sight of the Grave (for the Eye affects the Heart) is apt to stamp deeper Impresses, and produce an higher Sense of Mortality in the Minds of Men; and therefore an alteration upon this account would be for the worse. Obj.

1<sup>st</sup>, And is not the dead Corps a Spectacle within doors as powerful and convincing as that without? Ref.

2<sup>dly</sup>, If the Priest's Lips will not preserve the Knowledge, and maintain the Sense of our Estate and Circumstances 'twill be in vain to seek it at the Grave's Mouth. We have *Moses* and the Prophets, if we will not hear them; neither will we be convinced, though one should arise out of the Grave from the Dead; so that the reason of our request yet remains unshaken.

### *Of the Collects for the King, and those in Authority.*

NOR is our flattering of the living (in the next place) any whit a less Stone of stumbling, or Rock of offence than our fawning upon the Dead. To prevent which, how necessary is it for the Reverend Fathers of our Church into whose Hands the King hath now put a Fan thoroughly to purge our Floor: I mean those Prayers and Collects appointed to be used for the King, and those in Authority: By the which, be a Prince never so debauched and profligate, prophane and dissolute, abandoning himself to all the Vices of the Age, sublimating Evil to the highest pitch, violating all the Laws of God, and casting those Cords behind him; yet as if the Majesty of his Person were an Elixir which turns all into Gold, changing the nature of Vice into Vertue, we are bound to acknowledge him that is greatest, to be the best too: Nay as if the most idolatrous and false Religion could by the touch of a Scepter be legitimated or changed into an Evangelical Worship, and reasonable Service. We are bound (as the Case stands) whatever Religion the Prince professes, be it *Roman*, or *Mahometan*, yet to pray that God would keep and strengthen him in the true way of worshipping him, when at that very time we believe and are perswaded it is false. A Staff, which  
in

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

in the late Reign was made use of to bastinado those that prayed by the Liturgy. Our Enemies urging that either their way of worship was true, or else our Service false and hypocritical. If Princes were like *Midas* changing the Nature of every thing they touch, or had the same Power which *Bellarmino* avers to be in the Pope, viz. of making Vertue to be Vice, and Vice Vertue, Evil to be Good, and Darkness to be Light, than we might account Slavery to be Liberty, and that tender Mercy, which is Cruelty. We need not scruple to call him Gracious, and most Religious Sovereign, though he hath abandoned the Sense and Practice of Religion and Vertue; nor scruple to call him *Rex Christianissimus*, who is *vix Christianus*: But till these Paradoxes can be proved and justified; it is desired by such as be true Sons of the Church, that the Liturgy may in this respect be altered, and such of its Collects as oblige us to give flattering Titles unto Man, may be so revised and amended, that if we lived under a *Julian* or *Domitian* they might not upon the least account be scrupled; nor can we ever expect a fitter Juncture to work this Reformation in, than when we are under the Conduct of such Sovereign Princes, who are not only willing to condescend to all things which can with any colour of Reason and Conscience be desired of them; but also no pretence or consciousness of guilt that is upon them, or scruple in us, do in the least enforce or influence our request, of having such Expressions taken out of our Liturgy, as should hinder us in lifting up our Hands without wrath or doubting, such as should render us Sycophants towards Men, or Hypocrites towards God, in our most divine and solemn Approaches unto the Throne of Grace.

## Of Confirmation by the Bishop.

**B**UT these are not the last Tears of our complaint, whilst that excellent Rite of *Confirmation* labours or languishes under such apparent disadvantages. And though I see no reason to sublime it into a Sacrament: So is there as little to put the Administration of it under such hatches of restraint, that there's scarce one of five, but for want of conveniencies is necessitated to live and die without it. This Office being so narrowly circumscribed, that (a) one single Person in a Diocese only must be allowed to administer it; to whom many either through Poverty or Infirmary are not able to travel for it, which if it were thought fit might be brought nigher even to the Door, for why should such Ministers as have the care of Souls committed to them be deprived of any expedient by which they might build them up in their most holy Faith, or the People

(a) And that  
merely in hon-  
orem ordinis;  
But is not the  
Honour of  
God and good  
of Souls to be  
preferred to  
that?



ple deprived of any means which may conduce to their Spiritual nourishment, and \* growth in Grace.

\* In confirmatione augmentatur.

*rum praestat, [scil. p. 3tu.] ad gratiam in baptismo abluimur, post baptismum roboramur inquit Papa Mel. biadis.*

The Office cannot be pretended to be above those Ministers, or they beneath it, to whom is committed the Dispensation of the Oracles of God, and holy Sacraments: And though *Bellarmino* saith, that the Grace which is initiated in Baptism, is perfected in Confirmation, and so ought to be dispensed by the chief Ministers of the Church, yet allows that Presbyters may be Licensed to dispense it: According to the daily Practice of our own Church, which gives Licenses to Deacons to administer the Sacrament of Baptism.

*Gregory* granted Licenses for this purpose, which *Aquinas* mentions and approves of, 3. q. 72. viz. of Presbyters executing the Office of Confirmation.

Yea, *Richardus Armochanus*, though a Romish Catholick, confesseth, That the Office of Confirmation belongs to the Presbyters, as well as Bishops. This *Bonaventure Durandus* and *Adrianus* do deny, but that they may do it by Dispensation all agree.

\* *Bellarmino* acknowledgeth it to be not only the Opinion of *Aquinas*, \* *Lib de Sacrament. 2. Cap. 12.* but of all his Disciples, and many other Divines, as *Richardus Paludanus*, *Marfilins* and others, (a) together with all the Canonists. And shall we be so itanch and reserved as to confine the Execution of this Office to the Person of the Bishop, who by reason of the extent of the Diocess,

(a) The Waldenses in their Confession of

Faith own that this Rite may be performed either by the Bishop, or by the Presbyter. *Talis ad Episcopum aut sacerdotem duci statuique debet, qui interrogatus de fidei veritatibus, &c. Manus postremo impositione ad firmanda Promissa dei, Profess. fidei fratr. Waldens. in Artic. de Confirmatione.*

(In which many times the Cure of more than a thousand Parishes is incumbent upon him;) as also Avocations by secular Concernments is incompetent to discharge: And this done too for no other end than to aggrandize the Order of Episcopacy, which will scarce refund, or answer for the Omission of so useful a Rite, and Ordinance in the Church, For would it not very much conduce to the Honour of God, Edification and building up of the People in their most holy Faith, if every Person baptized into the Christian Faith, should be obliged, when he comes to Years of discretion, to appear in the publick Congregation, there to make a Confession of his Faith, to recognize his Primitive Engagement, to avow that in his own Person, which was done for him by proxy: And that the Minister of the Congregation, should by imposition of Hands (where it is not scrupled) recommend the Person to the Grace of God, that he might be strengthened, sealed, stablished in the Christian

G

Faith,

Faith; That he might persevere in the stedfast Profession, and Practice of it, and continue his forever: And let the Honour of the Bishop give a yeldance to the Honour of God, and good of the People; although it will be hard to prove that 'tis a more honourable act of the

Yet the Cardinal of Arles owns it as due to Presbyters; His words are, *ut si Presbyteri debent Ecclesiam in communi regere, satis notum est quod ad eos quoque decidere res spectat Ecclesie dubias.* And that they have a governing Power he proves from St. Austine, and he from Scripture, *An. Sylv. de gest. Con. Basil. p. 25.*

Ministry to confirm than to baptize, or administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; though St. Jerom saith, that for this Cause, viz. The Honour of the Priesthood, Bishops were only to lay on Hands, but the Law did not injoin it. *Hieronimus in dialogo contra Luciferianos dicit ob honorem Sacerdotii fieri ut soli Episcopi manus imponant non ob legis necessitatem;* which our Church is not so stanch in, the Bishop having always the Concurrence of Presbyters who lay on Hands with him in conferring the Orders of Priesthood.

### Concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline.

AS to the Matter of Discipline and Jurisdiction, I shall say little, lest it should be interpreted an itching desire after Rule, and share of the Government of the Church. Sir Edward Dering, that great and learned Man, in the first long Parliament (where he laboured much to prevent the Extirpation of Episcopacy) (a) did declare that they could never be able absolutely and utterly to root out Popery, unless they took away the *Sole Ship of Episcopacy*. I believe good Reasons might be given why the Minister of the Parish, should be impowred to assist the Bishop when any of his Flock are called or convicted as Criminals. Forbs, the Bishop of Edinburgh, concludes against the Power of the Keys being solely in the Bishop. *Pot' institutos Episcopos illud Presbyterium quod habet Episcopum, Jurisdictionem non exerceat sine Episcopo suo, neque Episcopo eam potestatem exercere fas est seorsim absque Presbyterio.* Bishop Hall saith, that 'tis universally agreed upon by all Antiquity, that in the Primitive Government all things were ordered and transacted by the Con-

(a) Sir Edm.  
Der. Collect  
Speeches, p. 32.

(b) Peace-maker, pag. 48, 49. *Hanc formam commendavunt patres, observavit antiquissima Ecclesia, in quo quod est totius rei caput instituisse videtur ipse Christus per Apostolos, Theol. Gall. de Discipl. Eccles. Anno. 1622. Cap. de Episcop. St. Austine upon these words of St. Matt. [Tibi dabo claves] saith, that Jurisdiction was given to Presbyters as well as Bishops. Dicit per illa verba datam esse Jurisdictionem potestatem toti Ecclesiam Episcopis & Presbyteris.*

sent of the Presbytery, moderated by one constant President thereof. The Primary and perpetual (b) Practice, whereof no Man can doubt of that hath but seen the Writings of Clemens and Ignatius. St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Magnes. seems to advise the same thing, *Σπεδέσθε πῶς ἡ πρεσβυτερια πρεσβεύειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐν τῷ οὐκ ἐξ, καὶ τὸν πρεσβυτεριον ἐν τῷ οὐκ ἐξ τῶν ἀποστόλων.* Let all things be done, the Bishop presiding as God's Vicegerent, and the Presbyters sitting in Council representing the Apostles; which seems to be much like the Will of a more modern Divine, whose Words are these, *Sane hæc Ecclesie administrande ratio, quam dixi in quâ* Episco-

*Episcoporum potestas certis limitibus habet, a synodo & Cœtu Presbyterorum circumscriptis est res magis optanda quam speranda, Epist. ad Verdæ.* St. Ignatius in several of his Epistles frequently mentions a Subjection and Submission due to the Presbyters, as well as to the Bishops *ὑποτάσσας τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, &c.* the Terms he useth, being sufficiently expressive of Jurisdiction and Authority. I will give you a few Instances for the Proof of what I have assumed. *Εἰς τὸ ἱερῆον ὑμῶν τὸ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τὸ πρεσβυτέρου ἀποστόλου διαβολή, Epist. ad Smyr.*

*Πᾶντες ἀκολουθεῖτε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὡς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις.* Let all follow the Bishop as Christ his Father, and the Presbyters as the Apostles; which as *Vossius* observes, was the Opinion of *Palladius*: His Words are, *ὑποτάσσονται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις ὡς θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ.* That is, be subject to the Presbyters and Deacons, as unto God and Christ. *Notæ Voss. 261.* Ignatius in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, written from *Smyrna*, speaking of *Zotion*, whom he had kindly entertain'd; commends him, *ἐπὶ ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ χρεῖται θεῷ ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* Because he was subject to the Bishop and Presbytery in the Grace of God, and Law of Jesus Christ: And in his Epistle to the *Trallians*, though he saith they ought to take the Bishop along with them, so they should also be subject to the Presbyters as to the Apostles of Christ. *Ἀναγκαῖον ἔν ἐστιν, ὅσῳτις ποιεῖτε ἀρετὴν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μὴδὲν περὶ τὴν ὑμῶν Ἄλλα ὑποτάσασθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. Ad Trall. p. 156.* ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοῦ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, &c. *Δὶδ καὶ ἱερὰς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. Ibid.* But what need we hear more Evidences out of this ancient Father y for the time, and I believe the Reader's Patience would fail, should I particularly recite what he hath said to this purpose, in his other Epistles, to the Brethren of *Tarsus*, *Antioch*, &c. *ὁ λαὸς ὑποτασσάτω τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις.* Let the People be subject to the Presbyters and Deacons. The same Advice he gives to the *Philippians* in his Letter to them; as also in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *Συνεδύξτε ἀγαπᾶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. Ad. Smyr.* If the Bishops and Presbyters are to be observed and followed, as Christ obey'd his Father, and as the Church was bound to be obedient to the Apostles, then sure the sole Jurisdiction was not in the single Person of the Bishop. It was strongly argued in the Council of *Basil* against *Panormitane*, by *Ludovicus*, Cardinal *Arlotenfis*, that there were most evident Testimonies for the Defence of Inferiors: For the chief and principal of all Divines, St. *Austine* upon the Words of St. *Matth.* where Christ saith, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*; affirmeth, that by those words the Judicial Power was not only given to Peter, But also to the other Apostles, and to the whole Church, the Bishops and Priests. The famous Dr. St. *Jerome* doth also agree with St. *Austine*, whose Words are these upon the Epistle of Paul to Titus, Before that difference was made in

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*Religion by the Instigation of the Devil, or that it was spoken among the People, I bold of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by the common Consent and Council of the Priests, for a Priest is the very same that a Bishop is. And further he saith, That Priests are of lesser Authority than Bishops, rather by Custom, than by the Dispensation of the Truth of God, and that they ought to rule the Church together. Mr. Lambert, that learned Man, and constant Martyr, in his Defence averred the same thing; and that Priests were called Bishops being all one, and no other but Bishops. The Bishops of London and Duresme, in their Letter to Cardinal Pool acknowledge the same thing, urging the Authority of St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Evagrius, and in his Commentary upon Titus. Sciant ergo Episcopi se magis ex Consuetudine, quam dispensationis dominice veritate Presbyteris esse majores: And in both places prove that the Government of the Churches; yea, the Patriarchal Churches was by the common Consent and Agreement of the Clergy; *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. 2. p. 290. Impress. 1684.*

But I shall refer my Reader, and my self as to this Matter, unto the Proposal made by Charles II. in his Declaration concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, 1660. p. 15 In short, I think that excellent Project concerning Church-Government, might very well deserve the Consideration of

our Superiors; especially if Presbyters might have Power granted not only to assist by their Advice, but (c) Vote too, which was strenuously pleaded for, and learnedly defended to be the Right of Presbyters, in the Council of Basil; *Acts and Monuments*. But if as to some doubtful Matters in Doctrine, some scrupled Rites and Ceremonies in the Church, which have occasioned not

only many hot Disputations, bitter Contentions, and the rolling many Garments in Blood our Consciences may be indulged, let them take such to govern, as they esteem best of in the Church, may we but stow our Cargo right, secure our Lading, and avoid Shipwrack of Faith and a good Conscience, let who will carry the Flag. Only give me leave to say verily there hath been a Fault amongst us, that whilst our

Discipline hath been very quick-sighted in Matters of Conformity, as to the smallest (a) Ceremonies, it hath been comparatively dull in hearing, and slow in espying the greatest Immoralities. We have been ready to discern the Mote, but have overlookt the Beam: Tender of the Rubrick; but less concerned for the Decalogue; And so long as our Whoredoms do remain, 'tis impossible our Church should have Peace: Let us be never so zealous for Conformity to the Canons and Rules of It; for if God hath a Controversie with us, the best Disputant will find the Contest hard, and Victory impossible. We may blame the Dissenters for  
our

(c) Si judicariam habent potestatem in Ecclesia Presbyteri quid eos prohibet vocem in conciliis habere terminativam, Card. Arlat. *Æn. Sylv. p. 24. de gest. Con. Basil.*

(a) We were once complained of in Parliament by a great Member of that Assembly in these Words, *The Vines have both Grapes and Leaves; And Religious Acts both Substance and Circumstance; but the Gardener is much to blame who gives more charge to the Workmen of the Leaves than of the Fruit*, Sir Edward Dering, *Collect. Speech.* p. 33.

our Schisms, but I am sure we may thank our selves for them, nay with grief and shame may we confess it, that to such a pitch hath Prophane-ness risen among us, that it hath been a Scandal to be good, and a Crime to be Religious: *Yea Truth faileth, and he that departeth from Evil maketh himself a Prey*; or is accounted mad, as the Margent reads it. 59 Isa. 15.

Loyalty and Conformity were the whole Cry; upon which Cardinal-Virtues (for they have been deemed no less) have all Preferments (when time was) turned: For could the Church and State but lay their Foundation here, they concluded their Nest to be built upon a Rock: But if Grace be not writ upon the Walls of it, the Beam out of its own Timber, the Stone out of its own Wall will cry down with it, down with it even to the Ground; without this we shall but daub with untempered Mortar, and may cry Peace Peace, when Destruction is at hand.

St. *Aufine* observed, that the *Romans* built their Temple of Con-  
cord, where the Seditions of the *Gracchi* had been acted: Which  
Temple afterwards was so far from restraining, that it became  
a Promoter of the highest, and most bloody Outrages. For  
formality-sake we may carry the Ark into the Camp of our Church, but the  
Glory will depart from us, so long as the Sins of the young Men be great,  
but their Reproofs small: So that hitherto we have mistaken our Ene-  
mies, and like the *Andabatae* have fought with our Eyes shut, contending  
*de lanâ Caprinâ*, we scarce know what we have fallen out for, or with  
whom. Alas! it hath been our Brethren of the same Faith and Religi-  
on; whereas our Contests should have been with Spiritual wickednesses  
in high places; yea such have been the Policy and Envy of those who  
rejoiced in our Divisions (hoping to make their own Market of them)  
as first to persuade that they were no Friends to *Cæsar*, and then to en-  
gage the Civil Magistrate to treat them as Enemies, making them Cri-  
ples, and then beating them with their Crutches, who to get the Staff into  
their Hand, would frequently suggest to the Prince (whose Ear they  
could command) that there was a People whose Laws were contrary to  
the King's Laws; and therefore desired him to write that they might be  
destroyed; which (contrary to often and open Promises of an undistur-  
bed and free Exercise of their Religion) he was frequently prevailed with  
to do; Signing divers Acts for their Prosecution: Which by a ravenous  
sort of Informers were so managed, as by Bonds and Imprisonments,  
Confiscations and Banishments, the Protestant Dissenters were ravaged  
and ruined: But such have been the Wisdom of our late Senates to see  
and discover by whom, and for what ends they were thus pushed on and  
acted. The Tide of our Councils seems very much turned, since we  
have with more chearfulness levied such considerable Sums of Money, to  
reimburse our Neighbours the Charge of our deliverance, than what was  
unaccountably raised and expended, *Ut defendi esset Carthago*. It  
certainly argued (saith the Dean of St. Patrick's) a very passive and sub-  
missive

*Tiberius* and  
*Cæsus*.

*De civitate dei*  
*lib. 3. cap. 25.*

SERMON  
preach'd at  
Dublin before  
the Lord's Jus-  
tices of Ire-  
land, by the  
Dean of St. Pa-  
trick's, Print-  
ed, 1691.



Dean of St. Paul's  
Church's Ser-  
mon.

missive Temper in them to give Money so liberally, and to fight so fiercely, as they did to destroy themselves, and their fellow Protestants; to make sport for their common Adversaries, and to serve the Interest of their most dangerous Enemies. This was (saith he) part of the Project laid down at large in a Paper found in the Earl of Tyrconnel's House, then Colonel Talbot, dated July, 1671. supposed to be drawn up by his Brother then Titular Arch-bishop of Dublin, viz. in these Words; *That the Toleration of the Roman Catholick Religion in England be granted, and the Asseylency of the Hollanders be taken down, a Confederacy with France, &c. The Ashes of Amboina must be raked for Embers to put us in a Flame against them; and the Affront urged that was given us, when their Fleet refused to make Obedyance, and strike Sail to the King's Yacht sent among them.* The first of which some thought was not always to be remembered, nor the latter a sufficient Answer for a National Quarrel, or which might have been atoned at a far less rate than it stood this unhappy Nation in, both of Blood and Treasure. But how then should the great design of extirpating the Northern Heresie (which was then the Catholick Project) have been managed; which many Protestants were inconsiderately easily, and with too much Zeal engaged in, being great Enemies to their Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Constitutions; taking all Suggestions of the fear of Popery to be nothing but the old Puritanical Cant revived, and ungrounded Scandal cast upon the King, as if he had other designs, than to maintain the Honour and Grandeur of the Nation; which made many of our own Religion very zealous and valourous in carrying on the War against them. But the Parliament taking Scent of this deep-laid Project address the King to proceed to a Treaty of a speedy Peace (as I remember the Words were) esteeming a further Prosecution of the War, nothing less than a pulling down those Banks and Barriers which were erected against the See of Rome, though too many were too great Infidels to believe it, till they felt themselves wet-shod in Holy-water, and that Tiber so powerfully brake in upon us, that the whole Land lookt bright with Popery: When alas! all the Remedy the Non-resistance Men could afford us was; Who a Devil could have thought it? But we hope such care will be taken, that there shall be no occasion for them to make us such a second amends, or be so far heeded, that they should again involve us in the same Circumstances, and once more give us another slap with their Tails. *Non licet bis peccare.* Indeed 'tis believed they'll never boil Prerogative to its former height: Then all Charters must be arbitrary; Officers of State, but Judges especially, *ad placitum*, the only way to sell Justice, and to buy the Needy for a Pair of Shoes. Then Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience (very true and wholesome Doctrines if rightly stated) were the universal Cry, and squeezed till the Blood came; But the Mischief was, when they had nursed the Prerogative till it had stung some of them, and hiss at all the rest, they presently let the World see they never brewed this Doctrine



Doctrine for their own drinking. Let a coarcted Child be but once snubbed, and it flies in the Face of the most indulgent Parents: They ne'er expected that Non-Resistance would ever have fallen to their share, unless when Preferments and Dignities were offered to their acceptance: But when they came to experiment (with Perills) the Bull they had framed for others; What Out-cries did they make? Then they acknowledged, we indeed suffer justly; But what have our Brethren done, whom we pursued with such Revenge and Rage? Then they confess that they sacrificed the Interest of the Church to their Malice: But if the Dissenters would forbear to comply with the common Enemy, they would do great things for them, whenever they came again into their Kingdom. But alas, there's too too much reason (as to such kind of promises) to apply that of the Poet, viz.

*Egrotat demon monachus tunc esse volebat,*

*Convalescit demon, demon ut ante fuit.*

In fires of Weather Mountains want too much,  
That being past a Mole-hill now they grutch.

Witness that great regret some of them have express against that Kindness and Favour which the King, and two succeeding Parliaments have beyond denial evidenced to our Dissenting Protestant Brethren; who with Fury bite the Chain which restrains them from falling foul upon their former Prey: Besides their unreasonable sticks to prevent, the least Abatement in Matters, which respect the Ceremonial part of our Worship. A Conformity to which, goes with them for the whole Duty of a Minister, Obedience to Government (a very good and Gospel Doctrine) was the constant Theme of the Pulpit; but our high Men have done with it, as the Priest did with the Sword of Goliath, wound it up in the Ephod, and laid it behind the Altar. Though when time was our whole Duty was placed in a wild Notion, and extravagant Pretence to Loyalty: No Man being esteemed Loyal or a Lover of his Prince, who did not so far doat, as to follow the Measures, and promote the Designs of turning the best tempered Government in the World into a Despotick and Arbitrary Rule. These wise Master-builders, had raised the Fabrick of Sovereign Power to that immense Height and extravagant Projective, as no way agreed with the just Methods of any civil Architecture; putting in the mean time the Mischiefs of the Project far from themselves: Supposing that if it did fall, it might perhaps grind their Enemies to Powder, but never dreamt of its tipping upon their own Heads, as we have before observed; Inasmuch, that whatever they heard which might awaken them to prevent their impending Ruine, went for nothing but the over-jealous Notions, and malicious Suggesti-

ens

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

ons of disloyal and dissatisfied Men. But when they began to feel the Massy weight of an overgrown Monarch, with what Zeal did they stickle to put a Bridle into the Mouth, and Hook into the Nostils of that *Leviathan*, whose Tusks had ript up the Belly of our Laws and Liberties, upon whose Neck they had so lately thrown the Reigns of Government which the Prince whom God now hath blest us with, hath delivered back again to the People? Esteeming the Prerogative never better asserted, than when the Rights and Properties of the Subject (the great end of Government) are kept inviolate, and that *Cæsar* can never have his due, if the People be denied what's theirs: Being so great an Artist in governing, as to carry a steddly Hand, and keep the Ballance even, for if too much weight be put into one Scale, the other will kick up, as our late King by a costly Experiment found true.

But as it pleased the Almighty to raise up a *Moses* to deliver us from the Brick-kilns, and to break the Yoak from off the Neck of our civil Liberties, so we trust he will rescue us from the Iron Furnaces too, loosing every Burthen, and letting our Consciences go free; which have not been so much gauled with Points of Doctrine, and Articles of Faith and Religion, as with the Rites and Ceremonies of it: We so generally agree as to Matters of Faith, that Dissenters in respect of that, are so few as to their Number, and as to their Quality so inconsiderable, that they are not able to make any Schism, or cause any disturbance amongst us. Could we but find a Temper to accommodate these lesser things (which by a Spirit of Meekness and Moderation, Christian Charity and Forbearance might easily be effected) we should have an end of Controversie; Heats would cool, Animosities would cease; they'd want Fuel to feed them, and Matter to work upon: The making Sides and Parties to elect Members for Parliament would be at an end, which have so frequently fermented the Humours of the Body politic into lasting and dangerous Factions and Distempers. Were but our Contests, about the Form and Rites of Religion, by some wise and prudent Concordate framed by our Governours, determined and moderated; we need not fear we should fall out about Matters of State; being all agreed to bear our share in the Charge necessary for its Grandeur and Defence: We should all sit under our Vines and Fig-trees, leading a peaceable and quiet Life, when once these Bones of Contention were taken out of the way; and Apples of Strife (which they say grow upon a Tree that's neither good nor evil) become forbidden Fruit. Besides we are no sturdy Beggars, we ask not Talents but Shekels, we only desire to wash and be clean from those additions to Divine Worship, which we are afraid may defile our Consciences, and not be so well pleasing to God: Things which the Imposers tell us are Matters indifferent when abstracted from their Authority: But suppose it should be an inconvenience to take them away; yet sure so great a good as an universal Quiet would  
be

be sufficient to commute for no greater Nuisance : But we are persuaded of the contrary from the Reasons we have alledged, besides the Authorities of some of the greatest Prelates and Members of the Church of England, viz. Hooper, Bishop of Worcester, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, Sands, Arch-bishop of York, Horne, Bishop of Winchester : Why should I again name Cranmer, Ridley, Grindal upon this subject, who endeavoured to have the Habits of the Clergy as a Popish Relique cast out. The Arch-bishop of St. Andrews speaking in his Sermon at the Assembly of Perth, did acknowledge, [*That the Conveniency of them was doubted by many, but not without Cause, &c.* Novations in a Church, even in the smallest things are dangerous, had it been in our Power to have dissuaded or declined them most certainly we would, &c.] Mr. Sprin also (though a Conformist) yet saith, [*It may be granted that offence, and hindrance to Edification do arise from these our Ceremonies.*] He confesseth also, *That the best Divines wisht them to be abolished* : Which by her own Confession is in the Power of the Church to grant : Which speaking in the Preface of the Common Prayer, saith that the Ceremonies which remain may be for just Causes taken away, altered or changed (and gives good reason for it) because they are in their own nature indifferent, and so alterable. The Words be these, [*The particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be used therein being things in their own nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledged* : It is but reasonable upon weighty and important Considerations, according to the various Exigency of times and occasions such Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place of Authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient ; accordingly we find that in the Reigns of several Princes of Blessed Memory since the Reformation, the Church upon just and weighty Considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in such Particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient, &c.] As for weighty Causes sure we never had any more ponderous to incline the Ballance then what may now be put into it : Will not the desire and design of our Prince to loose every Burthen, and break every Yoak from the Neck of Mens Consciences move ? Will not the pious Zeal for Unity and Peace together with a just Regard and Compassion towards tender Consciences of the best and greatest, of all (I think I may say) the Prelates and Governours of the Church move ? Will not the most desirable Compliance, and Harmony with our Brethren of the Reformed Churches abroad, an happy Concord and Communion with our Brethren at home move ? That we may be no longer at strife one with another, that we may take sweet Council together, and go to the House of God in company, that all Bitterness and Wrath being laid aside, the Lion may eat Straw with the Ox, and lie down with the Lamb : That it may be said of us owning the Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Church, who were not a People in time past, but

See 34. Art. of Religion.

I Pet. 2. 20.  
now

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now are become a People, which had not obtained Mercy; but now have obtained Mercy; this would enlarge the Borders of the Church; And why should we not admit those, whom God doth not reject? Who

(e) Why should Men be more rigid than God? Why should any Error exclude any Man from the Church's Communion which will not deprive him of eternal Salvation? — When I say in one Communion I mean in a common Profession of those Articles of Faith, whereof all consent. *Chilling. the Relig. of Protest. p. 210.*

doth not make such small things (as we suspend and deprive for) terms of (e) Communion with himself; and yet in the mean time, can without scruple hold Communion with Persons of vicious Habits and prophane Lives: If a Man dissent from us, as to the Form of Religion, we account it scandalous to converse with him; whereas the Apostle's Rule is; If a Man that is called a Brother, be a Fornicator, or Covetous, or an Idolater, or a Railer, or a Drunkard, or an Extortioner, with such an one no not to eat. We cannot wholly abstain from converse with such Persons, for

*Epist. dedic. to the Liberty of Prophecy.*  
\* Taylor.

then we must go out of the World, but whether I should than the Company of an honest and good Man tho' a Dissenter, or of a wicked and prophane Person, though a strict Conformist to the Rites of the Church, he that is of least esteem may be able enough to judge. I would fain know saith a late \* Bishop, why a vicious Habit is not as bad or worse than a false Opinion. Why are we so zealous against those we call Hereticks, and yet great Friends with Drunkards, Fornicators and Swearers, intemperate and idle Persons? Besides (as that worthy Person speaks) *Drunkenness*, saith he, *I am certain is a most damnable Sin*, &c. But Sects are made, and Opinions are called Heresies upon Interest: Why should we then strain at a Gnat and swallow a Camel? If a Man swears by the Temple 'tis nothing, but if he swears by the Gold of the Temple he is a Debtor. If a Man commits Fornication or Adultery 'tis nothing, we can hear, pray with, hug and converse with such an one, though he defiles the Temple of the Lord: But if he conforms not to the Ceremonial part of Divine Worship, he dinges the Gold of the Temple, he is a Debtor to the Law, and he shall pay for it: To these we say stand by, for I am more holy (that is more conformable) than you; boasting as *St. Paul* once did, that they have profited in their Religion above their Equals in their own Nation, being exceedingly zealous of the Tradition of their Fathers, And thus whilst we plant our Canon, rife our Arsenals, to beat down a shaken Leaf, we make little or no assaults upon the strong holds of Sin: These things we should have done; and if we leave the other undone, the Church will be further extended, better settled, and our Zeal more profitably employ'd. And will not these things move us? In our Reformation many things were retained by the Wisdom of our Reformers, that offence might not be given to the *Roman Church*. We retained the three Creeds many of their Feasts, Fasts, several of their Rites and Ceremonies, Cross, Surplice, Kneeling at the Sacrament, Form of their Worship; insomuch, that *Edward the Sixth* told his rebel-

rebellious Subjects, *That the difference of their Service was ; that before it was performed in an unknown Tongue, but now in a Language they understood.* Had the outward manner of Celebration, been much different from the former, the King would never have used such an Argument to appease them, it would indeed have been to little purpose : And what good hath all this Compliance wrought, to what end hath all this waste of Charity been ? It hath hardened them in their Superstition, and given them hopes that those who so far complied and symbolized with them, might be prevailed with in time to return, seeing they dressed still their Service, with some of the Garlick and Onions they brought from thence. Whatsoever then we have retained not to scandalize them, let us now part with to gratifie our Protestant Dissenting Brethren, which will not only oblige them, and render their Separation indefensible, but will justifie us before all the World ; and will prove an excellent Balm to cure the hurt of the Daughter of our People substantially ; And will not this move us ? I cannot forbear to mention what a late Author (no Non-conformist) hath pertinently alledged to this purpose ; his Words are these, [*Becoming a Papist to the Papists, that by all means they might gain some of the Papists : For this reason in her Liturgy she hath kept her best Collects, whatever was justifiable in her Litany, and all their Creeds, in her Rubrick many of her Feasts, most of their Fasts, and some other of their Ceremonies : But since that time (viz. the Bull from Rome) we have gained none, lost some, whose narrower Souls could not swallow such things. Now more than an hundred Years experience calleth upon the same Charity to tack about, and steer a contrary course. Its a general Rule, and practised by all good Physicians to observe whether their Prescriptions do more good or hurt, nor could he be faithful either to his Patient or Profession, that should obstinately stick to his first Orders in contradiction to Experience : It hath pleased our gracious King to Authorize the Prelates and Representatives of our Church, to practice the same Charity towards our distempered Church and State.*] Would to God this Author had never wrote any thing more disagreeable to sound Doctrine, and the things which belong to the Church's Peace than he hath in this.

But were your Souls in my Soul's stead I could heap up many more Arguments ; But all that I shall add is an earnest Reinforcement of our Request, to you that have Power committed to you to heal the Breaches and redress the Grievances of the Church ; that the Flames which have been so industriously blown up, may now be blown out, and for ever extinguished, that virulent and peevish Men may never be intrusted, either in Church or State : But that a Spirit of Meekness and Moderation may set our Wheels, yea the Wheels within the Wheels, viz. The Privy-Councils and most secret Transactions, that a Spirit of Peace and Love may preside in all our Civil Assemblies. And (as the Philosophers fancied the Angels were to the Heavens) be the great Intelligence to move them.



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*Hic vir non  
invidet mihi  
gratiam.*

As for him, whom the King of Heaven and Earth hath by his miraculous Providence set over us, and raised up to rescue us from all those Miseries that were come, and coming upon us. May all the Blessings which ever made Princes good, and great light upon him; and as for the ease which his Protestant Subjects enjoy in the free Exercise of their Religion we are so far from envying it that we bless God, the King and Parliament for it: Might but an act of Comprehension be joined to that of Indulgence, might the Church Doors be set so wide, that all True and Orthodox Ministers and People too might go in and out, and find rest to their Souls; might but that Project and Platform of Accommodation which his Predecessor Charles II. in his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, formerly published and propounded be once enacted, and settled as a Law, we might live to see Schism baned, Truth and Peace settled: It hath pleased God to deliver us out of the Hands of our Enemies to serve him without fear, might there but be a Temper to appease our angry Friends (and why should we fall out, for we are Brethren) we might sing our *Conclamatum est*; the Work of God would be finished.

But when all is said we recommend this great Work to the Providence of God, and Wisdom of our Prince; Pleading as the Estates of Germany did with Ferdinand, in much the same case. *Te quidem summum & à deo nobis datum Magistrum agnoscimus, & libentissime quidem, ac nihil est omnium rerum, quod non possis, aut debeas à nobis expectare, sed in hac unâ re propitium te nobis esse flagitemus.* That is, we freely acknowledge you to be our Supreme Lord, and given to us by God himself, nor is there any thing, of what we possess, which you cannot, or may not justly expect from us. In this thing only [which was Liberty in Matters of Religion] we most earnestly intreat your Majesty to be kind and propitious to us.

*Obj.*

1<sup>st</sup>. But if this be admitted the Church can never appoint any thing, but upon pretence of Scandal to tender Consciences, it must be presently cassated and rescinded, so that there can be no Establishments of the Church made, or Order maintain'd.


*Ref.*

1<sup>st</sup>. These Establishments and Orders have cost the Church dear, it once sunk in the Defence of them, and with it one of the best of Kings, that ever ascended the Throne since the Reformation. This was foretold long since by a true Prophet: I mean the Learned Zaneby in a Letter to Queen Elizabeth, 1571. [Your Majesty saith he being perswaded by some, otherwise great Men, and carried with a Zeal, but not according to Knowledge to retain Unity in Religion, hath now more than ever resolved and decreed, yea doth, Will and Command, that all Bishops, and Ministers of Churches shall in Divine Service put on the white Linnen Garments, which the Popish Priests use now in Popery; yea it is to be feared that the Fire is so kindled, and cast its Flames so far and wide, that all the Churches of that  
most



*most large and mighty Kingdom, to the perpetual Disgrace of your most renowned Majesty will be set on a flaming Fire.]* And are there not many yet alive to justify the fulfilling of that fatal Prophesie. Had it not been better then if the Church had not been so tenacious of these Rites, to have dispensed with some of its pretended Beauty and Uniformity, to have cast something of its Ceremonial Cargo overboard, and to have somewhat lightened the Vessel, than to have endangered the bottom, and suffered (as it did) Shipwrack of the whole.

When the Disease grew inveterate, and Humors of the Populacy into an extreme ferment, our Physicians could have been content to have applied the Remedy, but it was too late.

*Sero Medicina paratur,  
Cum mala sinceris penetrat gangrena medullis.* 

Time was when the loping off some Luxuriances might have saved the whole, but no Temper could be found, nor Expedient listned to, to prevent a Rupture; till at last nothing but Root and Branch, Branch and Rush as in one day could satisfy the Victors.

2dly, If this Objection be admitted, are not all the Designs of indulging tender Consciences superseded? *St. Paul* the Apostle directs those which are strong, to bear the Infirmities of the Weak: To become all things to all Men that we might gain some, not to cause our Brother to offend: That there be some who prefer one day before another, others esteem every day alike; some believe they may eat all things, another who is weak eateth Herbs: What's to be done in this case? We must not despise one and other, but forbear one and other in Love, not giving any Scandal to our Brethren; for he that offends his Brother sins against Christ: Which Rules of forbearance are as obliging to the Church in general, as to private Christians in particular: But if this Objection carry any force with it, it might be replied, how can this yieldance be; for then, no sooner shall the Church have appointed by its Decree any thing to be observed, but upon the pretence that some nice and scrupulous Conscience is offended, all must be given up.

3dly, Notwithstanding this Objection, wise and worthy Men have judged a Latitude and Liberty fit to be used, and practiced in these things. The Reply of King *James* to Cardinal *Perroon* (returned him by *Causabon*) was to this purpose, *That the Church should do well, to sever necessary things which are not many from unnecessary, and that the latter be left to Christian Liberty.* This was that which the Council of *Jerusalem* had regard to, when they declared that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to them to lay nothing upon them but what was necessary, viz. to abstain from Fornication, from things strangled, and from Blood.

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

Doctor Potter observes, that as the ancient Worthies and Fathers of the Church were most zealous to defend even with their Blood, to the least Jot or Tittle, the Rule of Faith or Creed of Christians; or as the Scripture calls it, the form of sound Words, the Principles of the Oracles of God; so again they were most charitable to allow in other things a great Latitude, and Liberty: Would to God the Fathers and Worthies of our Church would do so, and our Work were done.

4thly, Decency and Order may be had and maintained, though these scrupled Rites should be omitted; unless we condemn all our Brethren of the Reformed Churches, who have thought fit to lay aside the Practice of those Ceremonies, which among us have ever since the Reformation been a Stone of stumbling, and Rock of offence; and that not only to some of our weaker Brethren; but also to many of the greatest Bishops and Prelates of the Church, as I have already hinted; Inasmuch that Zanchy in his aforesaid Epistle, told the Queen that most part of the Bishops, Men greatly renowned for all kind of Learning and Godliness, had rather leave their Office and place in the Church, than against their own Consciences admit of such Garments which are at the least signs of Idolatry and Popish Superstition, and so defile themselves with them, and give offence to the Weak by their Example.

5thly, An Abolition of these Rites does not oblige the Church to be subject to every querulous and teachy Complainant; suppose a Prince grants the Petition of a Criminal, and gives him his Life for a Prey, will it therefore follow that he shall never know when he hath done, and that Justice shall never be executed, because it hath upon some earnest Applications given place to Mercy, and yielded to Clemency. The King hath thought fit to annul the Act for Chimney-money, will it therefore follow no branch of his Revenue must stand unrepealed? Suppose the Church should repeal and cassate the Laws for the Ceremonies, for the Reasons that have been alleged, will it therefore follow, that nothing must ever be settled for the maintaining of Order and Decency: For though it may grant some things with Reason, will it follow therefore, it must yield up every thing without Reason?

6thly, If nothing must be granted by way of Relaxation in point of Conformity, upon the Reason objected, then the Church's Peace can never be secured. For more than an hundred Years, viz. ever since the Reformation the Church hath had and suffered many a bitter Pang for the sake of these offensive Rites and Ceremonies, she hath had a constant struggle in her Womb by reason of them: They once fretted out her Bowels, and they are again, and have been ever since their Restoration with Charles II. as Moths fretting her Garments. They have been the constant Troublers of our Israel; And I am afraid it with Jonas they be not cast overboard, they will at one time or another sink our Ship: Though I earnestly wish (whatever be the event of this Essay) there may

never

never be any occasion to fainter the fulfilling of this Propheſie among us; as with bitter cries we have lived to bewail the Fate of *Zimchy's*: And shall we ever retain that Leven that is so apt to sower the whole lump, shall it never be purged out? Oh, that it might once be. *Augustus Caesar* caused all the Glasses to be broken, lest the use of them should occasion Blame and Terror to the Servants, and create Strife in the Family, the thing applies it self, &c. 'Tis true, we are Brethren, we have the same Father, the same Faith, the same Baptism, the same Religion as to all the Substantial parts of it. Why should we have a Partition-wall built betwixt us? Whilst we are two Flocks, differences will be apt to arise and cause the Herds-men to fall out; and what Flames such Sparks may kindle among us, our former Ashes, and Experience are sufficient to make us dread the Incendiarles, and Bouteſeus. Let us then no longer shut our Eyes that we should not see the things which concern our Peace.

Let us now be one Sheepfold under one Shepherd: An Act of Comprehension would effect this: Were the Declaration of *Charles II.* concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs cast into the Form of a Law, I believe our Schism would in a great measure presently, in process of time be totally extinguished: And the hurt of the Daughter of our People, by the Balm which distills from it, effectually cured: Which was formerly the Opinion of an excellent and reverend Divine of our Church: I shall give it you in his own Words, [If ever, saith he, a Divine Sentence was in the Mouth of a King, and his Mouth erred not in judgment, I verily believe it was thus with our present Majesty when he composed that admirable Declaration, which next to Holy Scripture I adore, and think that the united Judgment of the whole Nation cannot frame a better, or a more unexceptionable Expedient for a firm and lasting Concord of these distracted Churches.] Solomon saith a Man of Understanding is of an excellent Spirit, and the worth with I have for our Mother the Church is, that all her Sons were of no worse Temper: Then we should have our wish, viz. one Sheepfold; nay what's better, the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.

Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was of Opinion, That the only means to heal us was a new Act of Uniformity which should neither leave all at liberty, nor impose any thing but necessary. In the mean time it were to be wisht, that publick Authority for Peace and Union sake would strictly prohibit and restrain the Pulpit, from uttering Invectives against our Dissenting Brethren, and that the Mouths of such as speak high-swelling Words against them may be stoppt. This would be a very good Preludium to Union and Peace; if this Rally might be curbed, and such as cause Divisions in the Church might be markt.

Sir *Matthew Hale*.

Obj.

2. Is it reasonable to indulge those who dissent from the Orders and Constitutions of the Church, granting to them a Liberty of Conscience, when our reverend Fathers and Brethren cannot be dispensed with? *viz.* The deprived Bishops and Clergy, who for Conscience sake dare not submit to swear Allegiance to our present Sovereigns: And are not their Consciences as tender to them as others? Or do not they who when time was stood against the pressing Inundations of Popery, and extravagant Exercise of Royal Power, as much deserve Indulgence, as those that on this account desire it?

Ref.

1<sup>st</sup>, To put a Curb into the Chap of Tyranny, or Hook into the Nostrils of Popery, are Actions becoming true *English* Men and Protestants. Nor is the Defence which was made against both, by the censured Prelates ever to be forgot, and how they Jeopardied themselves in the high Places, in the Defence of our Christian and Civil Liberties. *But if a righteous Man shall forsake his Righteousness and do that which is evil, all the Righteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered.*

3 Ezek. 20.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Supposing their refusal to comply is Matter of Conscience, I must heartily wish, and in my Place and Station would so far as I am able, make it my endeavour (as I desire Liberty for my self and others) that they may be treated with all the Indulgence and Compassion which the Powers in being can extend towards them, and that they may never meet with such measure, as have been meted out to our Dissenting Brethren from the fatal *Bartholomew*, till the first or second Year of the late King *James*.

But methinks whilst I am engaged in this Argument I am furnished with a new one to plead with our Reverend Fathers and Brethren, to a just and charitable Condescension, and Consideration of our Complaint, *viz.* That there is no such infallibility or fixedness of any Condition here, that will supersede that charitable Resolve of *doing as we would be done by*: An Argument urged by a Reverend Bishop to the same purpose. [*If there be variety (saith he) in humane Affairs, if the event of things be not settled in a durable Consistance, but is changeable, every one of us all may have need of it.*] There was a time when our Reverend Fathers being upon the very Pinacle of Preferment and Power, I believe little expected that the Indulgence to tender Consciences, which they would by no means (for several Years) listen to, should now be the great thing they want and desire: God is my witness whom I serve in my Spirit, that I speak not to insult over them in their Affliction, or grate upon the Misfortunes of others; I thank God that I have not so learned Christ: But only that they would but consider, whether their inexorableness towards others, may not have been a just Provocation unto the Almighty to deal with them as they have dealt with their Brethren in Matters of Conscience; and whether their case be altogether unlike that of *Joseph's* Brethren. 42 Gen. 21. *And they said one to another, we*

Dr. Taylor's  
Preface to the  
Liberty of  
Prophecyng.

verily guilty concerning our Brother, in that we saw the anguish of his Soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear, therefore is this distress come upon us.

Let me then plead with you most Reverend Fathers, to engage your Interest and Endeavours, with the Members of the Convocation, or any other who shall have Opportunity, or Power to give ease to such Consciences which are weary and heavy laden, by reason of a Conformity to all and every thing comprised in the Liturgy. Put on Bowels of Mercy towards those that want it: It may be a means and way for your selves to find it. Why should not our Church imitate our Saviour in making her Yoke easie, and Burthen light? Especially to such who in regard to the Peace and Unity of the Church, and to avoid Schism thought it their Duty to submit to things of doubtful disputation, till it pleased God to find out fit and proper Expedients to redress our Grievances.

3dly, But suppose the worst, that the Dissenting Clergy who refuse to swear Allegiance, should not meet with such dispensations and allowance as they desire, yet it can be no colourable Argument to reject our present Plea; there being a vast Gulf betwixt their Case and ours. For as the Sovereign Powers never promised any Toleration or Indulgence in the Affairs of the Church, but to such as should plight their Faith to be good Subjects to the State, so neither had they ever the Brow to expect it, or Face to ask it upon any other terms whatever.

3. But who is this which darkens Wisdom with Words, condemning himself in the thing which he allows, and so strenuously pleading against his own Practice? But this is like some others of the same Profession, who take the Oath of Allegiance to the present King, and then declaim against it, and the Magistrate for imposing it.

Obj.

To swear Allegiance to one Prince when we believe our selves the natural Subjects, and bound by a preceding Oath to another, is a Matter directly unlawful, and renders us at the same time to be guilty at least *in foro Conscientiæ*, both of Perjury and Treason, which the greatest Good nor Evil can never be sufficient Arguments to oblige us to commit. But these things very much out-do the Matter in hand. Did we believe our Conformity unlawful, and contrary to the Divine Law, we then have a plain Rule to direct us to obey God, rather than Man: But yet they have been accounted as inexpedient by several Reformed Churches, and therefore they thought fit to reject them: They have been always scrupled, and often offensive to Persons of great Wisdom and Abilities, a Yoke which gauld the Neck of many good Mens Consciences, who yet rather than \* desert their Stations, or lay down their

Ref.

It of choice, viz. the Liturgy, while we may prefer a more convenient way, whatever we ought to do in case of necessity when we must worship God inconveniently or not at all, *Grand Debate at the Savoy, p. 35.*

\* It would be our Sin to ul

(a) As we  
have observ'd  
already.

Offices to which they were called have unwillingly submitted. (a) As *Horne*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who scrupled to accept his Bishoprick unless he might be dispensed with as to the Habits, and wrote to *Bullinger* on that subject, who rather advised him to submit than refuse to serve God in that Station. *Hooper*, Bishop Elect of *Worcester* refused to be consecrated till the King granted him a Dispensation in point of the Habits: Yet such was the Zeal of some about the King for those Rites, that when he was to preach before him, he was forc'd to put on that Attire; which that good Man and Martyr I believe would not have done, had he judg'd the thing unlawful, and yet no little disturbance to him its like, if we consider how earnest he was to be dispensed with by the King (which was granted him) before he was admitted to his Bishoprick. What case of shame (saith Mr. Fox) [The strangeness hereof was that day to that good Preacher every Man may easily judge: But this private Contumely and Reproach in respect of the publick Profit of the Church, which he only sought, he bore and suffer'd patiently: And I would to God in like manner they which took upon them the other part of that Tragedy, had yielded their private Cause, whatever it was to the publick Concord and edifying of the Church:] And so do I in this and the like cases now, and to which I hope all the true Sons of the Church and Enemies to Schism will say, *Amen*.

Acts and Mo-  
numents, 3<sup>d</sup> Vol.  
1 col. p. 121.

Obj.

4. But why should we pretend Conscience against Conformity when the Church commands nothing contrary to any Divine Precept, and then we may safely obey?

Ref.

A thing may be forbidden directly or consequentially. Suppose I be not directly forbidden to wear the Attire of a Priest prescribed to him in the publick Ministration; yet I am forbidden to offend my weak Brother for whom Christ died, and so the Attire may be consequentially forbidden.

But does this Rule admit of no restriction? For sometimes Matters commanded by the Church *Præter legem*, as well as those which are injoynd *Contra legem* may be questioned. Though from hence *Forbes*, Bishop of *Edinburgh* concludes, *That the Church may command us to pray for the Dead, because there's no Divine Command, to the contrary*. And why then also may she not injoin Cælibacy or single Life, as she shall esteem it convenient, for there's no command to the contrary; as *Aquinas* observes, *Nemo ex præcepto tenetur nubere*; and I believe he spake truth; for unless it be in some particular Cases, no Man is oblig'd to Marry, for then *St. Paul* would not have said, *He that marries does well, but he that abstains does better*.

And



And now whatever I have spoken upon this Argument, I have done it in the Truth and Integrity of my Heart, out of no design to embroil, but rather to promote the Welfare and Peace of the Church, as well as of the Consciences of private Men, and thereby to extinguish those Flames which the Sparks of these controverted Rites have enkindled, for Solomon saith, *If we take away the Wood, the Fire will go out.*

Nor have I Wyar-drawn the Truth or warp't the Rule of it to make it agree with Peace. *Non studendum est paci* (saith the Father) *in detrimentum veræ Doctrinæ*; But have endeavour'd to take Measures from Scripture, Reason and Charity: But if now I should be mistaken, and should have taken my mark amiss, I am the more convinc'd of the necessity of Toleration, and compliance in Matters which are of no greater Figure in Religion than what we have mentioned: Because as Dr. Taylor saith, *Even then when a Man thinks he hath most reason to be confident, he may easily be deceived*: But I shall leave all to the Judgment and Censure of those reverend and worthy Persons whom the King hath Committed to sit on such Matters, and to review the Liturgy. Let the Righteous smite me and it shall be a kindness: Though to those Galleries with which Tracts of this nature are commonly entertained; (according to the direction of Mr. Hooker in his Ecclesiastical Polity) I shall reply nothing, because as the wise Man saith, Fool's rage, and are confident.

This was writ  
during their  
Authority.

But suppose the Matters alledged be not contrary to any Divine Precept; yet they may be, and are offensive and scandalous to good Christians, though perhaps but weak in the Faith, and is there not as much Charity, and Forbearance to be shewed to such, especially living peaceably (though unalike to themselves) submitting to the Ordinances of Men for Conscience sake rather than make any Schism in the Church; as hath been extended to some, who have not only differed from it in Doctrine, but wholly abandoned its Communion. I shall instance in several Rasures which have been made in the Common Prayer by Archbishop Laud, least Matter of Scandal or Offence should be given to the Arminians, and our dear Friends the Papists. Hence we find that those Words used in the Morning Prayers for the King, viz. [*Who art the Father of those Elect and of their Seed*] were expunged, which the Archbishop in his Speech in the Star-Chamber excuses as being done in his Predecessors time by the King's Command: But this alters not the case in hand, but as some have more than guessed, that because the Words seem'd too much to favour the Opinion of a particular assurance of Election, and personal Adoption or Salvation, which gave offence to some in the Church who had other Sentiments, they were commanded to be ras'd; others also both within and without the Church, who would not allow the Pope to be Antichrist were much offended with these Words in our Liturgy, viz. [*Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian Seck,*] which are changed into these Words, viz. [*Root out the Romish and Ba-*

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*bilonish Sect* ; ] Which the Arch-bishop saith he did by the King's Order, that he might not offend, but remove scandal from the Papists: And do we not owe as much to the Members of our own Church? Shall we shew such forbearance towards our most implacable Enemies? Whilst we hang a Mill-stone about the Necks of our Brethren and Friends, even when we are invited to remove the Stones of stumbling, and Rocks of offence out of the way?

The same Arch-bishop declaring, That it was of dangerous Consequence to avow that the Popish Religion was Rebellion, though this Clause passed (saith he) in King *Jame's* time, yet he made an Alteration by the King's Command, and saw it Printed; see the *Star-Chamber Speech*, p. 34. So that the Liturgy it self hath not been a *Noli me tangere* in former days, but have passed an expurgatory Index, and forc'd to part with such Expressions and Clauses, as have been adjudged scandalizing of, and reflecting upon the Roman Party: Nor ought we to be uncharitable to any, yet shall we do good to all, but those of our own Household of Faith and Religion?

Besides, what doth the late unparalled deliverance of our Church from that Ruine it was so lately at the brink of, require of us: But to do justly, to walk humbly, and to shew mercy; to redeem its former Disciplinary Cruelties, and severe Usages, by which our Brethren of the same Faith, and Reformed Religion have been formerly harassed and treated with? My design is not to rife the two last Reigns or Proceedings, against the Non-Conformists for Instances or Arguments, to prove our Assumption. The Author of the Plea for the Non-Conformists hath given us a taste of that Cup which was bitterly wrung out among us: Yet I hope I may look a little further back and shew you, that the latter Severities acted upon our Brethren, was by a Transmigration of that ancient Spirit of Cruelty which heretofore informed, and ruled in the great Abettors of Conformity: By which we shall not only see clearly the Wildom and Love of God in putting it into the Hearts of our Governours, to proclaim Liberty to the Captive, and to let the Oppressed go free: But also to nominate and appoint Persons of Understanding, and consequently of an excellent Spirit, to find out such a Temper, that those Boutefeus, which have formerly put us in a flame, may be never able to officiate as Incendiaries amongst us for the future.

So extremely Arbitrary were the Censures of the high Commission-Court and Star-Chamber, that some have weighed them in the same Ballance against the (a) Inquisition. This I am sure that the Wisdom and Justice of our Nation, thought fit to make a Law to abrogate them, and remove them as the great Nuisances which pestered both our Church and State.

(a) With the Papists there is a severe Inquisition, and with us (as 'tis used) a bitter high Commission, Sir Edw. Dering. Col. Speech.

When

When Ecclesiastical Persons were brisk in inflicting corporal Punishments and pecuniary Mulcts, and Amercements, Persons of the most liberal Professions and Education, have been treated like Rogues and Villains, for no other Reasons than their writing and speaking against the most Arbitrary Proceedings and Innovations in Religion and Divine Worship: Which were adjudged so enormous and flagitious, that they were used kindly if they came off with their Ears cropt, their Noses slit, their Cheeks burnt, and stigmatized with an hot Iron: As appears by the Epistle to the King from the Arch bishop of Cant. on whom all their Severities were fathered. [*I shall rather (saith he) magnifie your Clemency that proceeded with those Offenders, Burton, Baltwick and Prin in a Court of Mercy as well as Justice.*] It being the Opinion of some of their Judges, that their Lives might have been exacted for their Offences: And the Reason the Arch-bishop gave was, because their malignant Principles were introductive of a Parity in the Church and State. Heylin also would be thought to make it appear, that they deserved Death. *Moderat. Answ.* p. 187. which is agreeable to a Passage I have met with in a nameless Author, or Tract, though revised and published by publick Authority in Scotland. Sundry of our prime Lords and Earls did present a Supplication to our King after his Coronation (in Scotland I suppose) wherein the Matter of the greatest Complaint, was so far as ever we heard, their challenging the Bishops with what they had done, or were likely to do. The Copy of this privy Supplication being privily conveyed by an unfriend some two or three Years after out of my Lord of Balmarinock's Study or Chamber, was a Ditty, for which he was condemned to die for an Example to all other Noblemen to beware of the like rashness, especially his fellow Supplicants, who are all declared to have deserved by that fault the same Sentence of Death: And the Sense the King had of it, is expressed in the King's large Declarat. p. 13. viz. *We were graciously pleased that the Fear and Example might teach all by the Punishment only of one of them to pass by many, who undoubtedly had been included and involved by our Laws in the same Sentence if we had proceeded against them.* Such was the Power and Influence they had with a Prince who was so great a Votary to the Innovators in Religion, as to venture his Crown, yea and lose it too in their quarrel.

Large Declaration. p. 13.

But Death had been a favour to some of those Punishments which were inflicted upon this score; as may be seen in the Relation of one single Instance among others, of which Mr. Hurly in his Breviat gives us an account (if true) viz. [*Of a poor Devonshire Minister, Mr. John Heyden, who in a Sermon preacht at Norwich let fall some Passages against setting up of Images, and bowing at the Name of Jesus, was apprehended like a Traytor, with the Countables, Bitts and Halberts, and brought before Dr. Harsnet then Bishop, manacled like a Felon, and com-*

## *A Plea for Abatement in Matters of*

committed by him close Prisoner to the common Goal above thirteen Weeks, where he was like to starve, the Bishop having taken from him his Horse, Papers, &c. from whence by a Pursuivant he was convey'd to London, and kept two full Terms: At last by the high Commission he was deprived of his Orders. Thereafter the high Commissioners imprisoned him in the Gate-house common Dungeon, and Canterbury sent him to be whipt in the common Bridewell, and then kept him all the long extream cold Winter, in a dark cold Dungeon, without Fire or Candle, chained to a Post in the midst of the Room, with heavy Irons on his Hands and Feet, allowing him only Bread and Water, with a Pad of Straw to lie upon; and since on his relief hath caused him to take an Oath, and give Bond to Preach no more, and to depart the Kingdom in three Weeks, without returning; which latter part of his Punishment being for Preaching after his first deprivation, though no exception was taken at his Doctrine.] If these things be true as they stand related in a Book Revised and Published by an Ordinance of a general Assembly in Scotland. It is high time to break off our past Sins by a speedy Repentance, and to redeem our former Severities by acts of Kindness and Compassion towards our oppress and complaining Brethren.

## *By whom the Seeds of Arbitrary Government have been sown.*

NOR hath the Zeal and Bigottry for the controverted Ceremonies been only a Nuisance in the Church; and pestered the Consciences of Men; but have also occasioned very great Mischiefs and Distractions in the State. For when Men of this Stamp had once gained the Prince on their side, and to espouse their Interest, they have endeavoured to requite him, by ascribing to him an absolute Power, and illimited Authority over the Subject; (Though in the late Reign, none winched sooner nor kickt higher at it, when they themselves began to feel the dint of it) overthrowing our Politick Constitution, and best tempered Government under Heaven, that they might erect the Throne to an immensurable height. Hence it was, that the Original of Sovereign Dominion was taught not to be *ex Patto*, but *jure Divino*. That Non Resistance and Passive-Obedience were the only Orthodox and Catholick Doctrines, so long as they imagined it would never come to their own turn to practice them. *Singulis adeptus est adversus principes que naturae*. That the very Law of Nature,

ture, and of Self-preservation is a Crime in that case :

(a) But perhaps as one lately was convinc'd by the sight of Bishop Ouerall's Book, so they might be by *Bilfon's* of subjection, p. 520. His Words are these; [*Neither will I rashly pronounce all that resist to be Rebels; Cases may fall out even in Christian Kingdoms, where People may plead their Right against the Prince, and not be charged with Rebellion: As for Example. If a Prince should go about to subvert his Kingdom to a Foreign Realm, or change the Form of the Commonwealth from Impery to Tyranny, or neglect the Laws establish'd by common Consent of Prince and People, to execute his own Pleasures in those and other Cases which might be named; if the Nobles and Commons join together to defend their ancient and accustomed Liberty, Regiment and Laws, they may not well be accounted Rebels. Ibid. By Supreme Powers ordained of God, we do not mean the Prince's private Will against his Laws, but his Precepts derived from his Laws, and agreeing with his Laws, which though it be wicked, yet may not be resisted by any Subject with Violence armed: But when Princes offer no Justice to their Subjects but violence, and despise all Laws to practise their Lusts, not any private Man may take the Sword to redress the Prince; but if the Laws of the Land appoint the Nobles as next to the King to assist him in doing right, and withhold him from doing wrong; then be they Licensed by Man's Law, and not prohibited by God's Law, for to interpose themselves for the Safeguard of Equity and Innocency.*] Much more I could transcribe if it were necessary: Only this he further saith, *That be never denied, that the People might preserve the Foundation, Freedom and Form of their Commonwealth, which they fore-prized when they first consented to have a King.*

(a) Dr. *Sherlock* in his Case of Resistance of the Supreme Powers, &c. Determines thus, That as well inferior Magistrates as others employ'd by a Popish or Tyrannical Prince in the most illegal and outrageous Acts of Violence, such as cutting Throats or the like, are as irresistible as the Prince himself supposing they act by his Authority, and must be submitted to under pain of eternal Damnation, &c.

This Book was Printed, 1585. perused and allowed by publick Authority: But such have been the Spirits and Tempers of some Men, that if a Prince would suffer his Power and Authority to be used by them to work their own Wills and impose (what they think fit to injoin) upon their fellow Brethren, they'll give him more than ever he could expect, or dream of: And no wonder whilst they take it for granted, that what they give him, is as good as their own, and to be managed by them to make themselves arbitrary and great. Was it not an hard case for those Earls and Noblemen abovesaid to be accounted guilty of a capital Crime, for presenting their Pétition for a redress of Grievances? Nor was it much better with us when the late Abhorrences were in fashion, by which they had so far decried, that reasonable and undoubted liberty of the Subject; which the late King believing, and that the Sauce for a Goose might serve for a Gander too, took the advantage of imprisoning and impeaching the Seven Bishops for a modest and humble Representation of their Grievances, which by the Law of the Land they were sufficiently vouched.



vouched to do. But Laws it seems are Fetters which no Princes must be intangled with, if our Hyperconformists Divinity be good.

[*What Spirit leads you, saith Heylin, that you are grieved with illimited Power, which Men of better Understanding than you have given to Princes? Princes are God's Deputies, of whom should they be limited? If you say by the Laws of the Land, those themselves have made. A Prince in abstract is above the Laws, though in Concreto, a just Prince will not break the Laws which himself hath promised to observe, otherwise we say of Princes, Principi lex non est posita. That they do not only govern by the Law, but are above it, that he is sure and hath an absolute Authority.*] Which the late King in his Declarations sent into Scotland so frequently mentions. The same \* Author avers that as its a kind of Atheism to dispute, *Pro* and *Con* what God can do, and what he cannot; so 'tis a kind of Disobedi-

(\*) Supposed to be Dr. Lefly, Bishop of Down and Connor.

(a) Thomas de Confellis was of another mind in his Argument against the Supremacy of the Pope in the Council of Basil, *Neque hic (inquit ille) eos audis qui tam latam regibus attribuant potestatem, ut eos teneri legibus nulla tenus velint, Antas, Sylv. de gift. Con. Basil.*

ence, and Disloyalty to determine what a King can, and what he cannot. (o) *Lysimachus*, p. 3. saith, That Princes being God's Legislators are (a) above their Laws, and dispense with them as they think expedient. A Prince is not bound to his own Laws because no Man can impose a Law upon himself. Out of which kind of State Divinity our late Dispensing Power did arise and spring. *Wemius de primatu regis*, p. 39. is of the same Mind. *Audemus dicere reges supra leges esse iisque solutos nemo enim sibi legislator.* And the better to justify this, they exclude Parliaments from having any decisive Voice, or legislative Power, though they may have a deliberative, when the King thinks fit to call them. *Legum latio* (saith the same Author) *præcipuum est suprema dominationis & Majestatis caput & legum Ecclesiasticarum Principes latores sunt, nec differant à civilibus Ecclesiastica, ratione causa efficientis.* p. 59. That is, Princes are makers of Ecclesiastical Laws, which are the same with civil Sanctions in respect of the efficient Cause. *Potestatem in Ecclesiasticis rebus sibi posse à Principibus jure suo extra consilia exerceri.* But when they are called he allows them only a consultive Voice, *Consultivam habent vocem, tanquam juris divini consulti, definitivam Princeps*, p. 89. Nor are Parliaments more necessary to the making Laws in the State, than Synods in Matters of the Church, according to the same Author's Opinion; who account the Prince's calling them only a piece of Modesty, to advise with them and hear their Opinions, not that their Consent or Authority were necessary to the making Laws. *Neque vero putandum est, quia solet rex ex modestia & prudenti virum suarum dissidentia non nisi de ordinum consensu leges ferre, absolutam ei imponi ejusque successoribus necessitatem illorum obtinendi consensus, ac si nullo modo eis liceret per se sine eorundem suffragiis bonas edere constitutiones. De jure in omnes leges ferendo sine omnium consensu statui potest,* p. 17. In Heylin's Antid. we read to the same purpose, p. 66. *Quod-*  
cunque

Heylin's Antid. p. 66.



cunque imperator per Epistolam constituit, vel Cognoscens decrevit legem esse constat. That whatever the King by Proclamation or Letters shall appoint, that's Law. Cui Imperatore Justiniano dicendum videtur explosis ruidiculis ambiguitatibus, verum conditorem, & interpretem legum esse solum Principem. Et legem Legislatoris non consilarii esse, non ex vi consensus & consilii habiti, sed ex regia legislatoris vi obligantem. Wemius, pag. 19. That is, the obliging Power of the Law is not from any Counsel or Consent given, viz. [by his Parliament] but by the Royal Power or Virtue of the Law giver. Whence he concludes, that the King is the only Maker and Interpreter of Laws, and that the Obligation ariseth from the Legislative Authority of the Prince, and not the Consultive Power of his Parliament. In \* Monarchiâ, regis sola voluntas de substantiâ legû est. Prævia populi consultatio est utilis immo utilissima, necessaria tamen non est. To consult the People in making Laws may be useful, but 'tis not necessary.

\* In an absolute Monarchy this Proposition may be true; but in a Monar-

chical Government, viz. (in England) where the Constitution and Contract is otherwise, 'tis very false.

But supposing the Parliament had any Legislative Power, or that to the enacting of Laws the Consent of Lords and Commons were requisite; the same King's Man doth declare him to have Power to nominate, whom the People shall choose, and by a Congio d' Elire name whom they shall send, and appoint whom he shall judge most fit for the Members of that great Assembly. p. 23. Baronum & civium ad Comitæ delegator, non ita absolute à Baronum & civium delectu pendere volumus, ut non possit rex, quos ille maxime idoneos censuerit delegendos nominare, præsertim cum pro legibus ferendis, iisque quæ administrationis sunt publicæ statuendis Comitæ indicta sunt. That is, when the King hath new Laws to enact, and Matters of publick concern to be created on, he may (that is the King) name the Persons whom he shall judge most fit to sit in Parliament: But when they are convened, the King hath no need of their Consent according to these State Divines to levy Taxes, or raise Subsidies, seeing the King hath a sufficient Right and Power in himself to dispose of the Subjects Goods, as he shall judge fit, so Weems affirms, Omnia (saith he) quæ in regno sunt fatemur regi esse, id est quæ paternus regni dominus, adeoque quæ privis ipsius quæ rex est, aut publica regni conditio posse regem de singulorum bonis disponere, p. 19. Bishop Montague also was of the same Mind as we observe, Orig. p. 320. Omni lege divinâ naturali vel Politicâ licite semper reges & Principes suis subditis tributis imposuerunt & licite Coegerunt, tum ad Patriæ & reipublicæ defensionem, tum ad ipsorum & honestam familiæ procurationem, hanc doctrinam accurate tuetur Ecclesiæ Anglicana, &c. But that the King could levy Money of the Subjects without the consent of Lord's and Commons, and Authority of the same, is not the Judgment of the present Church of England: At-

O.ig. p. 20.

L'Estrang's  
Annals, p. 84.

though this hath been the cry of some former high Church-men, who to tickle the King's Ear, and fawn themselves into Preferment have preach't up the same Doctrine upon the strictest Penalties. Thus Dr. *Manning* out of the Pulpit, for the Edification of the Court, I suppose, more than the People, did declare, *That the King without common consent in Parliament could by his Command, so far bind the Subject in Conscience to pay Taxes and Loans, that they cannot refuse payment of them without peril of eternal Damnation. And that the Authority of Parliament was not necessary to raise Aids and Subsidies.*

But how mischievous such extravagant Insinuations and Councils proved both to Church and State, the ensuing Miseries were too evident and undeniable Arguments: Nor did the Authors and Contrivers of them succeed any thing better than others who fell under the dint of them. *Malum enim Consilium consultori pessimum.* For whilst they thought to oblige and espouse the Sovereign Power to their Interest, viz. To press and push on those Innovations in Religion, which they had advised his Majesty were orderly and decent in the Church; and to urge the establish'd Conformity (very offensive to tender Consciences) with the utmost Rigors; nay in two several Reigns they Councilled and procured Edicts, to legitimate the Violation of the Sabbath-day by Sports and Pastimes; several of them fell under the Dint and Censures of the Civil Power, feeling the Effects, and unhappy Influence of those Convulsions, they had occasioned in the Bodies Ecclesiastick and Politick, by regrating too far upon the Humors: I mean the Liberties of the Subject, both as Christians and Men. Have we not reason then to plead for an allay, and temper of such Matters as are apt to occasion so dangerous a Ferment both in Church and State?

But I can't conclude here, seeing by these wild and extravagant Notions concerning Royal Power, I have been led aside, and my Pen dipt in this Argument; especially considering those vile and virulent Reflections made upon our late Revolution, counting all no better than Rebels and Traitors who willingly offered themselves to rescue our Liberties and Religion from Popery and Arbitrary Government: Nay the most that can be allowed our King (by such as pretend upon second thoughts to be proselyted to his Service) is, that he must be acknowledged to rather of fact, than right. But if what hath been already said be not sufficient to vouch the Endeavours of the People in preserving the Fundamental Constitutions of the Commonwealth, their Lives and Religion; when they are in eminent and apparent hazard, I shall fetch an Argument from a Royal Topick, which I think may serve much to vindicate our late Transactions. Had Queen Elizabeth, King James, King Charles judg'd the Defence which the Protestants made in France, Flanders, Germany, &c. of their Lives, Religion and Liberties against the Kings of France, Spain and Emperor, an unjustifiable Rebellion; they would never have assisted them, with Men and Money, Arms and Ammunition for their

their redress, and rescue from those who by their Sovereign (but ill managed) Power had so far rent and ravish'd them out of their Hands. By which Assurances and Supports, they though Princes themselves did not only approve their Undertakings in particular; but allow and vindicate the like Practices in parallel Cases in general.

But if the Doctrine of Non-Resistance be true in the Sense it hath been preach'd: Neither Peers nor People, Lords nor Commons must wag an Hand, move a Foot, but stand still and see the Salvation of God. Let the Pillars of the Church be rified, the Foundations of Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity rased, and destroy'd, the original Contract of Government dissolved, nothing is to be done but to depend upon Providence, expecting a Miracle to be wrought for our deliverance. Every act of our own in order to that end being adjudg'd Rebellion. Were the Knife at our Throat according to the Rules of Passive-Obedience, we must not put it by, if an Angel from Heaven appears not to our rescue. But never did Men make worse use of a Doctrine they had so stily maintained, when it came to their own turn to practice it.

They proved indeed Passive in their Obedience to the Commands of the late King, few or none of them being very active to obey him in the time of his distress; or to make use of the Doctrine of Non-Resistance, but with respect to the Design of the P. of O. so that if we may be guided by what they did, and not what they said, we have enough to justify not only our present Constitution, but late Revolution also. But I think we have much better Authority than this to alledge.

\* Hear what Barclay saith, to which Grotius assents. Scharphius, Symph. Prophet. & Apost. tells us, *Vel is de quo agitur talis est, qui Monarchiam quidem Supremam habet, sed certis Conditionibus limitatam in quas juravit; Est penes status ordines aut primores regni tyrannidem grassantem coercere, sunt enim subditorum officiis duplicia alia ordinaria pro ratione loci temporis vocationis in republ. Alia extraordinaria secundum circumstantias varias, quæ nullâ certâ lege possunt definiri. Hæc exceptâ quod saluti reipub. semper studendum sit. Quest. 45.*

\* *Quarta ait idem Barclaius amitti regnum si rex verè hostili animo in totius populi exitum feratur, quod concedo, saith Grotius, Lib. 2. Cass. 4to. de jure belli & pœ.*

Cicero saith it is certain that there was a time when the People had

no Kings, but afterwards when Lands and Possessions came to be divided there were Kings ordained for no other case but only to exercise Justice, &c. Not only the People but also the King to be subject to the Laws, &c. If a King contemn and despise the Laws, violently rob and spoil his Subjects, deflower Virgins, dishonest Matrons, and do all things licentious and temerariouly, do not the Nobles of the Kingdom assemble together deposing him from his Kingdom, set up another in his place which shall swear to govern uprightly and be obedient to the Laws. Fox, Acts and Monuments, p. 762. Ed. 1684.

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

The Substance of which is, that he who hath Sovereign Power or Authority, but limited by certain Rules or Conditions, which he hath sworn to observe; If such an one shall become a Tyrant, it is in the Power of the States and Peers of the Realm to restrain him; for, saith he, the Office of the Subject is twofold, ordinary in respect to Time, Place, and Employment they have in the Common-wealth, the other extraordinary, which is to be exercised according to the Circumstances of Affairs, which can be bound by no certain Rule, except that of the publick Safety, which must ever be consulted for, and which

\* *Lib. de repub. Quo fit ut leges non solum populum sed reges etiam obligare sciamus ac si regem condemnare leges Raperibona subditorum, violare Virginit, stuprare matronas, omniaque sue libidinis & temeritati committere vidiamus, numquid Congregatis regni proceribus illo summo alius sublimabitur, qui & bene gubernare juret, & legibus obtemperare An. Sylv. de gestis Con. Basili.*

\* *Bodin calls Suprema lex.* But if Monarchy be absolute and under no Restrictions, we must then patiently suffer the most unjust Exercise of Power, there being no other appeal but only to the Divine Tribunal. Thus Daniel paid Allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, and our Saviour to the Roman Emperor. *Pareus de potestate civili. Propos. Prima* saith, *Episcopi & pastores, magistratibus suis impiis aut injustis possunt ac debent resistere, non vi aut gladio sed verbo dei.* That is, Bishops and Pastors must not resist evil Magistrates by force, or by the Sword, but by the Word; in which he speaks honestly, for the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal but spiritual.

In his second Proposition, he saith. *Subditi non privati sed in magistratu inferiori constituti, adversus Superiorem magistratum, se & rempub. & Ecclesiam seu veram Religionem etiam armis defendere jure possunt, &c.* That is, not private Subjects, but such as are placed in an inferior Order of Magistracy, may by force of Arms defend themselves and the Common-wealth, the Church, or the true Religion, without the Breach of any Law. Supposing the Supreme Magistrate be degenerated into a Tyrant, an Idolater, and is become highly oppressing of the People, provided they act sincerely, and for the publick good; because he saith Princes are bound by their own Laws. *Imperator testatur in codice se contra jura nolle, ut sua decreta in judiciis locum habeant, sed debere irrita fieri, si fortasse cognoscantur à justitiâ discedere, &c. Lib. 4. Cod. de leg. Prin. Adeo digna est vox Majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri.* That all his Commands contrary to Law were void, and that it was a Saying becoming the Majesty of a Governour, that a Prince is bound by Law.

Trajan was commended by Dion, who giving the Sword to the Prætor, used these Words, *Λάβε τὸ σῆμα ἐὰν μὲν καλῶς ἀρχῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμῶ, ἀν δὲ κακῶς καὶ ἐμὰ αὐτῷ κρήσῃ.* That is, take this Sword if I rule well, use it for me, if ill, again st me.

But

But as to private Persons he saith, *Moriendum potius quam resistendum*: Yet for several Reasons I cannot take his Words in the Sence which that excellent and learned Person D. *Fabritius* would put upon them, restraining his Meaning to the Princes of the Empire, who are Sovereign Princes, and invested with Royal Power: It never being a question whether such had Authority for the Preservation of their Rights, and redress of Injuries to levy War against another Prince, though in some respects greater than themselves. But if in no case the Nobility and Commonalty of a Nation may interpose to prevent the imminent Ruine of the Church and State, it would be very difficult to vindicate the late Revolution (as is already hinted) from those severe Imputations by such as have very little good will to our *Sion* cast upon it.

I shall not in so great a case interpose mine own Judgment, it being easie to prick our Fingers in such a Thorny question: Yet I may say, if any for the breaking of their Yoak have ascribed too much to the (b) People, granting them too great a Liberty of contesting their Rights with their Sovereigns; others in hopes to espouse Princes to their Interest in grieving and oppressing their Dissenting Brethren, have beyond measure sawned upon and flattered them, till they nurs'd up the best tempered Monarchy upon Earth, into an intollerable and tyrannick Exercise of Regal Power.

prove the Body of the Kingdom to be above the King: To which *Tho. Corbellis* agreed, *Adduſque incessem summo omnium Philosophorum Aristotele, dicebat in omni regno bene instituto, illud in primis desiderari ut plus regnum possit quam rex: Si contra reperiretur, id non regnum, sed tyrannidem dici debere. An. Sylv. deſeſt. Con. Basil.*

But this is a digression which by pursuing the Extravagancies of some Mens Opinions I have been led: In which if I proceed a little further (being once out of the way) I must beg the Readers Patience and Pardon.

For having perused the Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Princes (by *W. S.*) I could not but with very much regret observe, that in the whole drift of that Discourse we can find little, or none other Argument to enforce our Allegiance to King *William*, &c. than what would bespeak it, for the greatest Usurper, and Intruder who hath had the good Fortune to gain an actual Possession of the Crown; which looks (to say no worse) very ungratefully upon him, whom the Lords Spiritual and Temporal invited over, and who by the universal Consent, and applause of the People, declared by their Representatives in Parliament, was invested with the Royal Government, and to whom we owe next to the Divine Providence, all that is dear to us. To reflect then so unworthily upon him, as if he were no better than one who usurps the Government, and that hath no further Right to the Kingdom than what Power,



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

Power, Possession and Success can convey to him, seems no way reconcilable to Duty, or good Manners.

This Author in his Preface tells us, that he never did any thing to cause the World to take him for dishonest, or a Fool: As to the first, I am very loath to call a Man a Knave without great Grounds for it, especially a Minister, upon whose Personal Reputation much of the Success of his Ministry depends. Conscience I know is a tender thing, and more especially ought so to be in the case of an Oath. I will suppose that he acted sincerely in his Refusal, and out of tenderness to the Faith he had plighted to his former Sovereign, and I hope he hath not acted upon any worse Principle in swearing Allegiance to the present Powers, and that he hath not the Person of his Prince in admiration because of advantage: For many considering the nature of his Argument do think it may justly defeat his expectation of a Bishoprick if he had any such.

As for the latter, I mean his Wisdom, something is to be said for that too; for he who upon the Matter challenges an whole Party of Men to try their Skill with him, had need have his Wits about him. I find his Wit was once commended for refusing to give an Answer to *Antisozza*, and the Reason which himself gave for it was, because he would not make the Dispute a trial of Wit: But he hath given a freier Argument still than this, viz. That he wrote his Case of Allegiance under a just and moderate Prince, who notwithstanding the smartest Reflections upon him, being satisfied with the Testimony of a good Conscience and sincerity of his Designs; did as *Saul* when they said this Man shall not reign over us, and brought him no presents, yet he held his peace. Had he lived in a Reign when Men suffered by *Innuendo's*, he might have found it much harder to have defended himself against an Impeachment, for his Crime against the State; than his too late Submission to the present Government.

The Crowns of Princes are heavy enough of themselves without the exceeding weight and guilt of Usurpation, or Intrusion into another's Right being added to them. King *William* would pay dear for his Kingdom to purchase it at the price of a good Conscience, and less of a far better Inheritance; and the Providence of God placing him upon the Throne will prove no very good Plea for holding the Possession of it, against the just Claim and civil Right of another: For though the Providence of God may make use of the unjust Actions of one to punish justly the Sin of another; yet the Injustice and Violence of such dealings can no way be excused by the disposal of an over-ruling Providence, directing bad Actions to work a good End. If a Person stronger than I by virtue of his Power or Interest take away my Goods, God by such means may punish me perhaps for my Sins, yet it will be a very insufficient Plea on his part, before God, or his own Conscience: For those whom



whom the Lord hath made use of, as the Rods of his Anger; he hath afterward cast into the Fire, notwithstanding they have effected his Will upon others who have sinned against him, and whom he hath justly punished by such means for their offences: And therefore it will be worth the inquiry whether our King be so only *de facto* or *de jure*; for if he wants a civil Right, his Possession will not make his Chair of State easie be it never so august or great, nor quiet his Conscience, and Kings have Consciences as well as other Men: For though he accounted not his Life dear to him, nor too much to hazard for the rescuing our Lives and Properties; yet to purchase them with the loss of that which is of more worth than the whole World, and all the Kingdoms of it, and to live and die in mortal Sin for our sakes, would be too costly a Ransome.

That one Sovereign Prince may levy War against another, where Matters in Controversie can be no other ways determined is I am sure (though I be no Lawyer) agreeable to the Law of Nations, and Nature too: That being the last Appeal to him who is the Judge of all the Earth, imploring him to determine the Question, and to give Victory and Success according to the Merits of the Cause: That the Prince of Orange was a Sovereign Prince is no question, who by the pretended Birth of a Prince of Wales was barred of his right of Succession, an Heir apparent being set up in room of the Presumptive. This 'tis well known was the subject Matter of various Discourses, and the common Entertainment wherever we came, the usual Question that was started being *De factu formato*; Which in every corner of the Nation was lampooned and ridiculed as a Court-stratagem for ever to extirpate Heretie, and so settle the Romish Faith in these Kingdoms to all Generations: As this made many Infidels at home, so it created Unbelievers abroad.

The Queen when the days were accomplished that she should bring forth, was delivered, or pretended to be delivered of a Son; by which all the Expectations of the P. of O. to succeed in the Government must consequentially miscarry, as also the Peoples hopes of securing their Religion in the next Reign became wholly abortive. The Prince judging the Crown of England worth a Trial, who being encouraged by the Equity of his Cause, and Invitation of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal made a Descent upon England, not with any design of Conquest (witness the small Numbers he had levied to attend him) but that a Parliament might be called, and the Matters in question (without any Blood shed) not only relating to himself, but the People too, who at one time were by the Dispossessing Power despoiled of their ancient Liberties, and reduced

*Quor' actionum forensium sunt fontes eodidem sunt belli.*

*\* Jure gentium (inquit Livius) ita comparatum est ut arma armis propulsentur. Et Florentinus jus esse gentium ait, ut vim atque injuriam propulsemus. Vim vi repellere licere Cassius scribit. Apud Ulpianum idque naturâ comparatum esse viserit. See Grotius de jure Bell. & pac. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.*

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

reduced to the greatest Slavery, yea the best, and most equitable Constitution under Heaven sunk into an Arbitrary and meer Despotick Rule and Government: But to forestal the Prince, and foreclose him as to any Examination in Parliament, Witnesses were called, Affidavits were made to prove the Birth of the P. of Wales: But what were the Witnesses? But either Court-Officers and Dependants, profest Papists, feigned Protestants, whose Evidences filled a Paper with such stuff as would sooner turn a Man's Stomach than his Faith: For many think that if fair dealing had been designed, Proxies would have been allowed at the choice of the two next Princesses of the Blood, and Heirs to the Crown to have been present at the Labour, who might (if what is pretended were true) have averred upon Oath, that they saw the Queen delivered of this Son, by which that long and fullom Affidavit might have been spared, the Nation satisfied in the Belief of the Truth, all future Claims and Pretences to the Crown annulled and quash'd, which their own Interest if no other Argument might have prevailed with the Court to have condescended to: And when this be answered, I'll believe as the then Rampant Roman Faction would have me believe. But things of so great concern being every where questioned and disputed, one would have thought, that if the P. of O. had ask'd a greater thing then to have a Parliament freely called to have sit upon, and considered these weighty Affairs, it would not have been denied by the late King as a thing unreasonable;

who at last condescending, Writs were issued, some Members chosen: (a) But all of a sudden those which were not yet issued were suppress'd, those sent abroad superseded, and the Parliament in its birth annulled and stifled; the Broad-Seal of England he wily cast away into the Thames, and at last betaking himself to (b) flight turned his Back upon the Nation, leaving it without any Provision for its Government to shift as well as it could for it self.

(a) *Ubi judicia deficiunt ibi incipit bellum. Grot. de jure Bell. & pac. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.*

(b) *Si rex aut alius quis imperium abdicavit, aut ma. iseste habet pro derelicto in eam post id tempus omnia licet que in privatum. Idem. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.*

*Obj.* But is it not very unjust to drive him away by force, and then charge his flight as a Crime upon him when he durst stay no longer?

*Ref.* This is the common Objection which those who are back Friends to their Country, Men who are satisfied neither full nor fasting, frequently make use of to banter (and if it could be baffle) those who assert the Legality of our present Settlement: But 'twill be no hard matter to evade the dint of it; for as to his Fear it was but rational, there being none, that was not more stupid than a Stoick, but in so great a Convulsion of State, must exceedingly fear and tremble; as to the Force pretended to be upon him, we utterly deny it; for when the Posture of Affairs had made it necessary for the P. of O. to come to London, and the King himself had invited him to St. James's, it could not be thought safe

for

for the King to continue at *Whitehall*, lest any jussle betwixt the Guards might occasion Bloodshed, and hazard his Person; wherefore he was desired to withdraw to *Ham-house*, or any other place he should choose: But finding the Fire he had kindled had made the Nation too hot for him, he deserted and fled into *France*: But he that hath raised a Storm, cut off the chief \* Anchor which should secure the Vessel hath as little reason to alledge his hazard in defence of his slitting the Vessel, and abdicating his trust to the Mercy of the Sea, as to blame the Ship's Crue for electing a new Pilot (in the absence of the former) to manage it in it's danger, and steer it into the Harbour.

\* The Parliament.

In this great and eminent Conjunction and Emergency the States of the Realm assemble to consult Methods, and concert Measures for the publick Safety; which High-Court, beyond which we have no appeal, did upon mature deliberation, great Debate and weighty

Arguments declare, resolve and decree. (a) That the King's leaving of the Realm in such a manner, was an Abdication of the Kingdom, whereby the Throne was vacated; and consequently the Government was dissolved: Which Resolution and Judgment was by this present Parliament confirm'd, ratified and recognized in these Words, viz. [*We do recognize and acknowledge your Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign liege Lord and Lady King and Queen of England, &c.*]

(a) For this reason the Crown was settled upon the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. The Words mentioned in the Instrument of Settlement are these, viz. [*And whereas the late King James II. having abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby vacant, &c.*

A&c. 1st. William and Mary.

By Virtue of which repeated Judgment and Decree he is King not only *de facto*, but *de jure*, according to the Laws of our own Country; which Judgment is either according to Truth or mistaken; if the first, by all Mens Opinions it ought to be obey'd; but if mistaken, yet we are bound to observe it, and I think may do it with a good Conscience, because we are no Judges of Law, especially in so intricate and difficult a Case.

Suppose an Estate be decreed in *Chancery* to *A.* when perhaps according to right it belongs to *B.* as afterwards may appear by a Reverse of that Judgment given in Parliament upon an Appeal made thither; yet [*A.*] may lawfully hold the Possession of the Estate against [*B.*] till the Decree be reversed; for though the Decree was not made according to Law, yet according to Law it binds, till it be corrected by another Judge, or annulled by a Superior Court. Now this Judgment of Parliament concerning the Abdication of the Realm and Vacancy of the Throne, though we should suppose it mistaken, yet that Court being Judge of the Law, we are bound by the Judgment they give, because they and not we are Judges of such Matters.

Now the Author of the Case of Allegiance doth grant, *Pag. 54.* That what Prince we must obey, and to what particular Person we must pay our Allegiance the Law of God doth not tell us, but this we learn from the Laws of the Land: Now the Law of our Land saith, we must pay our Allegiance to King *William*: So that according to this Rule he is King of right, as well as of fact. Now his Question is whether if a King *de jure* be dispossessed of his Throne, and a King *de facto* be possessed of it without a legal Right; to which of these two the Subjects are bound to pay their Allegiance. But I take this not to be our present

(a) *Obj.* But King *James* was King *de jure*.

*Res.* So was *Charles II.* but both their Rights are extinct, one being naturally, the other dead in Law, as is decreed by the highest Court in *England*. And he that sits upon the Throne declared by the same to have as good right to the Crown he wears as his Predecessor, before he gave up the Ghost, I mean his Kingdom to provide for it self.

case, for according to the Judgment and Decree of the highest Court of Judicature the late King (a) is not the King *de jure*, for this Act of Abdication is declared by our Law not to be a bare Dispossession of the Throne, but a total Extinguishment of his Right. And that if he should be ever restored to these Kingdoms again, he must receive a new Investiture, or else he cannot be King. And whereas he seems to suppose our King *William* only to be King *de facto*, and without legal Right possessed of the Throne, which he hath no great reason to thank him for, nor we to admit, when the Court of Parliament have declared, That the Three Kingdoms, and all the Dominions thereunto belonging,

that the Royal State, Crown and Dignity of the said Realms, with all Honours, Stiles, Titles, Regalities, Prerogatives, &c. to the same belonging, are most fully, rightfully, and intirely invested, incorporated, united and annexed in, and to his Princely Person: So that according to our Laws he is rightful King of *England*, as well as *de facto*, and by Virtue of his Possession and providential Promotion to the Crown; nay they, *viz.* The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament did recognize and acknowledge, that their Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be by the Laws of this Realm our Sovereign liege Lord and Lady King and Queen of *England*, &c. Now *W. S. p. 54.* Case of Allegiance makes this demand, *viz.* Is it not, saith he, most reasonable to think that to be the Sense of the Law which learned Judges and Lawyers have agreed to be the Sense of it? Is it not reasonable to take that to be the Sense of the Law which hath been the Sense of Westminster-Hall? Let him give me also leave to ask one Question; and that is, Whether that be not the Sense of the Law, which the Judges and Lawyers learned in the Law have declared in Par-

\* The Law of Man that is not contrary to the Law of Reason, nor the Law of God, but that is super-added unto them for better ordering the Commonwealth, shall rule the Conscience; and

liament, nay which in that High Court of Parliament have been declared to be \* Law? And that I am sure it was as we have already heard, *viz.* That King *William* is King *de jure*, and according to the Laws of this Realm, whose Declaration and Decree will bind the Subject in *fero Conscientia*, where it is not contrary to any moral Precept,

Precept, though they should be mistaken in their Judgment; which is not to be supposed till a Court of equal Authority (for there's none Superior) repeal their Act, or reverse their Decree.

he that despiseth this Law of Man, despiseth the Law of God. See Dr and Stud. Cap. 4. Cap. 19. Cap. 26. To fill up a vacant Throne is not contrary to the Law of God or Reason; that

our Throne was vacated is declared to be Law, by our highest Court that we have in England, That a King may abdicate the Realm. *Grotius* saith is not to be doubted; and *Barclay* saith (cited by *Grotius*) that if a King shall alienate his Kingdom, and subject it to a Foreigner, or leave it, or act as an Enemy to the Destruction of the Community, he loseth his Kingdom, *de jure Bell. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.*

But perhaps it may be said, that the Title of the Prince is a Matter above, and no way cognizable in any Humane Court; it being said of Kings, that they judge all things, but are judged of none, especially as to Matters criminal, for which they are only accountable to him, who is the Judge of all the Earth; for when Courts do sit and act by the King's Commission, and Authority, it can be scarce thought, that any Prince should be so Trayterous to himself, as to grant a Power to censure his Person or his Actions. So that whatever the Parliament may have declared, or enacted with respect to the late King's Actions; however they may affect the Ministers of State, who were the Advisers or Transactors of them; yet all must be void with regard to the Person or Title of K. J. because they have interposed in that which is no way within the compass or purview of their Jurisdiction.

The House of Lords I take to be the Supreme Court of Judicature in England, which though it be convened by the King's Writ, yet needs no special Commission to empower them to act, that being a Right inherent in them, and by the original Compact or Custom immemorial inseparable from them.

But suppose there be no King in our Israel, the Master of the Ship fled, the Waves run high, must the Vessel sink, all that are on board perish lest they should intrench upon the Prerogative of their Master? Must they not consult their own safety for fear they should meddle with, or consider the Actions of their Governour, as being above their Cognizance? Must the Community perish, and Nation sink in Compliment, to him that hath fled from them, and lest none to exercise his Authority over them? Is not the universal Safety the Supreme Law?

But my last Reply to this Objection is, that the Parliament of England hath not adjudged the Royal Succession, or Title of the Crown a Matter above their Authority, nor is it beyond the Sphere of their activity. Let us hear what my Lord Cooke saith in the 4th. Part of his Institutes, Cap. 1. Of the Powers and Jurisdiction of Parliament for making Laws, in proceeding by Bill, it is so transcendent and absolute as it cannot be confined either for Causes or Persons within any bounds. Of this Court it is truly said, *Si antiquitatem spectes est vetustissima, si dignitatem est honoratissima, si jurisdictionem est capacissima.* Huic



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.* Virg. of which we have divers eminent Instances to induce. In the 8th. of *Hen. 4.* as my Lord Cooke hath it, *Instit. Part. 4. Cap. 1.* But I find it rather in the 7th. of *Hen. 4. Cap. 2.* the Succession of the Crown was intailed to *Hen. 4.* Was not the Crown settled upon *Hen. 7.* by Act of Parliament, and upon his Heirs before his Marriage with *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter and Heir of *Edw. 4.* of the House of *York*, notwithstanding the Judgment formerly given in Parliament (as we are about to take notice of) for establishing the Title of the Crown in that Family, *Cook's Institutes, Part 4. Cap. 1.* Many more Examples may be given to prove, that the Title and Succession of the Crown is not a thing beyond the Notice and Authority of Parliament to intermeddle with: But he who desires a more particular Information, let him consult these Statutes, 25 *Hen. 8. 22.* 28 *Hen. 8. 7.* 35 *Hen. 8. 1.* 1 *Eliz. 3.* 1 *Jac. 1.* Yet give me leave to mention one Case which happened in the Reign of *Hen. 6.* whose Crown whilst it was upon his Head was challenged by *Richard*, Duke of *York*, whose Claim was received and Plea heard in Parliament: The Council alledged many and great Arguments in defence of the King's Title; too many here to be inserted, but that high Court, upon a full Hearing on both sides, gave Judgment for the Duke of *York*, against the King, though in actual Possession of the Government, in these Words, [*That Hen. 6. should reign during his Life, the remainder to rest in Richard, Duke of York, and the lawful Heirs of his Body in general Tail, King Henry's Heirs to be excluded.*] By which Judgment the King's Title was condemned, and the Crown translated from the House of *Lancaster* to *York*; in which Line it continued till (a) *Hen. 7.* who marrying the Heir of that House, the Families were united, and that fatal Controvertie effectually ended.

(a) The best Title saith my Lord Cooke of *Hen. 7.* to the

Crown was by *Elizabeth* his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Edw. 4.* yet before his Marriage the Crown was by Act of Parliament intailed to *Hen. 7.* and to the Heirs of his Body, the Right of the Crown then being in the said *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edw. 4.* *Instit. 4. Part, pag. 37.*

But all this may perhaps be thought not only too great a Descent, and Deviation from our first Undertaking, but also too uncharitable a Reflection upon a Person, who (it may be) not only acted sincerely, and according to the Dictates of his Conscience in refusing, but likewise hath observed the same Measures in submitting, to swear Allegiance to *K. William*: As to the first, I know that Church and State are like the Body and the Soul, very distinct and different in the Nature of them; yet do very much affect and influence the Affairs, and Concerns of each other. That an absolute and illimited Power in the State have been planted and watered by the Principles and Practices of our great Sticklers for Hyper-conformity, and Innovations in Religion, hath been already proved, by what they have transmitted to the World from the

Prels



Press and Pulpit. For whilst the Wind of Law hath been too scant for them to maintain their course in Ecclesiastical Matters, they have endeavoured to tide it up by the Fluxes of Prerogative, giving the same Advice that was once the Opinion of the Flatterers of Cyrus. That though what he did was not justifiable by Law, yet the Kings of Persia might do what they pleased.

As for the latter, I thank God, I was never troubled with the overflowing of the Gall : It being a thing always contrary to my Inclination, to have any Man exposed to the Censure of the Civil or Ecclesiastical Magistrate, when any other Measures can be taken to prevent the Mischief of his Error : And if our Consciences do not accuse us, then may we have confidence towards God, and towards Man too : Though I could have wished the Author's Justification had been maintained from some other Medium, than that its lawful to swear Allegiance or Fidelity to a King *de facto*, though he may want a civil Right to the Establishment of his Throne : And for such who out of meer Conscience to their former Oath, cannot do so much, I wish them (*Salvo juri regni*) as much Indulgence as I could desire for those whose Consciences are gauled (though the Cases be vastly different) by the Yoak of Conformity in Matters of Religion. To perswade which I can urge no better Arguments than what Charles II. alledges to this purpose, and with which I shall conclude, *viz.* [*We do conjure all our loving Subjects to acquiesce and submit to this our Declaration concerning those Differences which have so much disquieted the Nation at home, and have given so much offence to the Protestant Churches abroad, and brought so much Reproach upon the Protestant Religion in general from the Enemies thereof.*]

Which are very great Truths, witness the Complaints that have been made by those of the Reformed Churches without us, *viz.* Of Calvin, Zanchy, &c. And the Judgment of the Divines of Transilvania, who have concluded concerning things of this nature thus, *viz.* [*That if the Observation of indifferent Ceremonies cannot be maintained without the loss of Christian Charity, those Ceremonies rather should be laid aside, than Charity violated by maintaining them.*] Nor have the Mischiefs which have been occasioned by Differences about these Rites at home, been a less Evidence of the Truth averred in that Royal Declaration : I mean the Ruine of many poor Families, Disgrace, Poverty, Enmity and irreconcilable Hatred, which have been bred and brought forth, by the late vigorous Prosecution of Dissenters for Conscience sake ; stretching the Laws, straining, nay perverting the Design and Intent of them, that they might be the better furnished with Weapons of despite. A Spirit which hath long since been complain'd of to actuate malicious and ill-disposed Men, as may appear by a Letter, which I have seen as copied out of the Register, written by the Lords of the Council in the Reign of Q. Eliz. upon the like Subject in these Words ;

After

**A**fter our hearty Commendations; Whereas we are informed, that heretofore, at your Assizes in your Circuits divers good Preachers, and others Godly disposed have been indicted (by colour of Law) for things not so much against the Matter and Meaning of the Law, as in some shew, severing from the Letter thereof; namely for not using the Surplice, resorting to Sermons in other places for want at home, leaving out some Collects on Days of Preaching, for using private Prayer in their Houses, and such like. all which we suppose came to pass by the Practice of some Informers not so well disposed in Religion; as also Men returned upon the great Inquest. Many times such as be still in Ignorance cannot brooke the Gospel, and being in love with the License of former times, cannot so well endure the present plain Teachers, who by laying open their Faults would draw to a more precise and Gospel-like Life.

These are therefore to require you, and heartily to pray you, that in every sitting of your Circuit, you sit and examine the Affliction of such Informers touching Religion, and thereafter give ear to them: As also to have a special regard, that the Inquest at large may be Religious wise and honest: And if (notwithstanding your diligence in such behalf) such Furors nevertheless creep in (as by like Information molest good Men) that yet your Speech and whole Proceedings against them at Bar (or elsewhere before you) may be according to their Quality, not \* watching them at Bar, or in the Indictment with Rogues, Felons or Papists, but rather giving apparent Note (in the Face of the Country) what difference you hold betwixt Papists (dissenting from us in the Substance of Faith to God, and Loyalty to our Prince) and these other Men, which making some Conscience of these Ceremonies, do yet diligently and soundly Preach true Religion, and Obedience to her Majesty, maintaining the common Peace in themselves and their Auditory, so shall the Country thereby learn (at the Assizes) better to reverence the Gospel, and love the Ministers and Professors thereof. Thus promising our selves thus much at your Hands, we bid you heartily farewell,

\* Matching rather.

From, &c.

To

To prevent such Mischiefs, or rather effectually to cure such Distempers for the time to come. I know no better Remedy then what hath been prescribed by that Physician of very great value : I mean the Project or Proposition of that incomparable and pious Man Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*, viz. An Act of Comprehension to enlarge the Communion of the Church, and make Conformity easie to those that are, or shall come into it, with a limited and meet Indulgence to those without it ; which thing he much laboured to effect, in concurrence with that worthy and honourable Person Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord-keeper of the Great Seal : Which he put into the Form of a Bill to be presented to the Parliament, containing a Comprehension of the moderate Dissenters ; and a limited Indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the compass of it. The one is done, we'd hope the other shall not be left undone ; sharper Medicines may rake the Patient, seldom cure the Distemper. The Ancient Fathers thought nothing more against Religion than to force it. Violence is no good Argument to beget Faith ; and is therefore fit for nothing but to breed Form without, and Atheism within, saith Mr. Chilling. *He that hunts his Brother with a Net, (as the Prophet speaks) may catch him, but ne're convince him.*

What Reason is there to gratifickious Men that would divide and destroy our Church ?

Obj.

Res.

None at all, but the greatest imaginable to have a regard to such as are of peaceable Principles, and tender Consciences, and 'tis very difficult for any one who cannot search the Heart to convict them of the contrary, which Charity will not admit without Proof, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ἡ παροξύνεται ἡ δὲ λογιζέται κακόν, πάντα σέβει, πάντα πιστεύει πάντα ὑπομένει. *Charity is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, 1 Cor. 13. 5, 7.*

Of

## Of the Reformation of Manners.

\* Oportet sacerdotes & Ministros qui altari & sacrificiis deservunt integros atque immaculatos esse, Cypr. Epist.

**B**UT this is not the only Scene our Reformers have to act in, whilst the \* Manners of the Clergy call for a strict Inspection, being by far the greatest Nuisance in the Church. 'Tis true, our earnest wish is, that the Grievances of Conformity might be redrest, that many whose desire it is to worship God in Spirit and in Truth, may with greater cheerfulness Labour in his Vineyard : Nor can we with less importunity plead that the grand Mischief of Debauchery, especially in the Clergy, may be provided against : We may clamber high to pluck off some withered Branches ; but if a Root of Bitterness yet remains, our Church will be accounted but a degenerate Plant.

There's Nitre enough in our Discipline, were it duly executed to cleanse our Garments, and to take out the Spots in our Feasts.

14-Levit. 39,  
41.

The Church stands in need of sweeping, and its Floor of a thorough purging, but the Walls most eminently want scraping too, to free it from that fretting Leprosie, which as it hath been the blemish, so it will (if not effectually cured) prove the bane of it. To prevent which, I believe a strict Reformation of the Universities might do much, for the Sin of those young Men is great : And had we no better Argument than that of supplanting the Design and Project of our Romish Enemies (who thought upon this Anvil to hammer out our Ruine) it were strong enough to recommend the Prescription ; were Salt cast into those Fountains, they would send forth more wholesome Streams, and such as would make glad the City of our God, giving less trouble to our Governours to correct the Errors of the first Concoction, for 'tis hard to take out a Rust which a Vessel hath contracted from so early a Taint. If these Grafts get a Surfeit in the Nursery, they seldom thrive, when they are planted out into the Church, or bring forth any Fruit unto Holiness.

These Societies have been very circumspect as to the Mint and Communion of Religion, minute and nice in the Form of their Devotion ; the Men of Athens being in all things very Ceremonious, whilst their Discipline hath been too lax and loose in punishing Debauchery, or promoting the Practice of Sobriety, and Power of Religion : But will that Coin be current from the exactness of the Stamp which is made of embased Metall, and reprobate Silver ? How far this Infection hath spread, and

and from this (though not only) quarter crept into the Church, especially the Leaders of it, our daily Experience is an Argument which supercedes all other Proofs, to the Scandal of our Communion, the maintaining of our Schism, opening the Mouths wide of those which gape for advantage against us. And though too many of the Dissenters have been unjustly clamorous, and turned their Backs upon us, where they might have communicated with us; yet I am confident but Immoralities have been the great drag to which we may Sacrifice for our Schism, for had we separated the Precious from the Vile, our Mouth would have been as the Lord's Mouth to them, nor would so many have separated from us, had we divided from them: Who to atone their Extravagancies, stickled high for Conformity, and zealously stifled against all that dissented, fulfilling the Words of the Prophet, *viz. They hunt every Man his Brother with a Net, that they may do Evil with both Hands earnestly. It is time then for Judgment to begin at the House of God (as St. Peter saith) for then where shall the Wicked and Ungodly appear?* Which Words struck so deeply that excellent Man \* *Nicholas Clemangis* by his occasional reading them, that he forthwith took the hint, and wrote his Book, *De Corrupto Ecclesiae statu*. May they so far affect our Superiors, that they effectually set upon its Reformation.

\* *Qua non sicut ceteras partes epistolae in transcurso pervolavi, sed lectionis imper-*

*tu aliquantulum remorato, concussam horrore quodam quasi repente subito mentem in his meam habere coegit, atque in se altius verba illa tenaciusque defigere, &c. Escl. Pont. Spec.*

For let my Right-hand forget its Cunning, if I with not Prosperity to the Church of England: My Heart's Desire and Prayer to God for it, is, that it may be saved from those unreasonable Men on the one hand, whose Designs and Principles are destructive to Order and Decency: As also from those on the other, who clamour high for the Form, whilst they deny the Practice and Power of Godliness, who can defile the Altar, think they commute by an Adoration of the Gold of it. May Learning and Religion flourish in the Clergy, Holiness in the Laity, and Reformation from that Formality, Atheism and Debauchery, wherein it is so dangerously and deeply sunk: May those Rites be laid aside which are in themselves disputable and doubtful, offensive to the Weak, indifferent to the Strong, so mischievous and pernicious to the Church, as to be the Hole of the Pit from whence its Ruine and Destruction were formerly digged. How bitterly from this Quarter it hath been assailed in the most august and National Assemblies of England, a Cloud of Instances might be induced to prove. Sir Edward (a) Dering in the first long Parliament, made use of this Argument against it: His Words were these; of Speeches. *The Character of a Cathedral Corporation is still the same it was. — viz. A School for Compliments in Religion, but a Scourge upon the Life and Pra-*

(a) Collection of Speeches.



*lice of it. They have been the Asylum of Superstition, but Scalæ gemoniæ for true Piety, &c.* This was a very smart Reflection upon those Societies; but I hope our Superiors will so far take this into their Consideration, as to render these Orders of Men such as they may become more servicable to the Church, less scandalous and offensive to those, who seek occasion to cast Reproach upon them for the future, and that the Glory of our Church may not shine forth *perinde modis ostentatias*, with outward Pomp and Ostentation, but in a modest, decent, but especially devout Celebration of Divine Worship. But this is too teachy and nice an Argument to insist much upon, lest in the Prosecution of it, I incur the Censure of being an Enemy to those regular Foundations: Though I am persuaded there can be no surer way to ascertain their Funds than a Reformation of their pompous Service into a more Simple and Evangelical Form of Religion: As also by subliming them to higher purposes, and improving them to a far better account, than they ever yet turned to in the Church. It being hard to take off the ancient Grudge against them, whilst so deep Revenues run waste, whose Streams might refresh the City of God; nor can I rationally fall under the Displeasure of any other of the Brethren, seeing the design of this Plea is only to smooth the ways of Conformity, and to make those Paths streight, that the Church's Yoak may become more easie, and burthen-light: And can truly protest in the Words of a great Person, as to the whole of this Discourse, *viz. Scripsi deo teste quod verum esse existimavi non gratiam hominum, vel propriam utilitatem sed dei gloriam & ecclesiæ commodum respiciens.* That is, I call God to witness, that what I have wrote, I account to be truth, not respecting the Favour of Man, or mine own Advantage, but the Glory of God, and Benefit of the Church.

But if after all, I must receive Evil for Good, I shall not think any new thing hath befallen me; nor will my Case differ from that courteous Man's, *who helping his lame Dog over the stile, was for his kindness bit by the Fingers.* But from what Quarter can we expect the Reformation of a wicked and sinful World? This no more than Promotion comes from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South, it is God that pulls down one with his proud and high Looks, and sets up, or exalts the humble and meek. 'Tis he that puts a Bridle into the Mouth, an Hook into the Nostrils of the greatest *Leviathans*, and bores their Jaws through with a Thorne: Nay he can change the most ungovernable Tempers, and unruly Dispositions of Men. He it is that maketh the Lion to lie down with the Lamb, eat Straw like the Ox: He can say to the most proud and rampant Waves of Wickedness, hitherto shall ye go and no further.

Eat

Multa Oportet  
ratione.

Bellar. recog.

But why then doth not Righteousness cover the Land as the Waters cover the Sea? Righteous art thou, Oh Lord, saith the Prophet, yet let me argue with thee concerning thy Judgments; Why doth the way of the Wicked prosper? Were it not more for God's Honour to have Religion flourish over the Face of the whole Earth, and prophaneness to have no place to flee to, or fix the Sole of its Foot upon?

This indeed is a thing too deep for us, a *Phænomenon* we scarce know how to solve. Were it not better that the false and lying Tongue were destroy'd, and Perjury pluckt up by the Roots, by which Justice and Truth have been perverted, guiltless Persons murdered, and innocent Blood spilt like Water upon the Ground? Is it not strange to observe in the Reformation of Religion, there should be so great a Sally out of Darkness into marvellous Light, upon the first dawning of that day; and that notwithstanding the Prayers and Tears of such as have oppressed tender Consciences, the utmost Endeavours of many wise and learned Fathers of the Church, it could not for more than this hundred Years be carried on one step further towards Perfection?

This hath been the Lord's doing we know, and 'tis marvellous in our Eyes: His Ways are unsearchable, and his Paths are past finding out: Not that we design to prescribe Methods to the Providence of God, or Rules and Measures to his Wisdom in the Government of the Church; yet we may pray that all things may be disposed, so as they may best conduce to his own Glory, the Purity, Peace and Union of that Communion: That having recovered its Light, when it was so nigh a total and perpetual Eclipse, it may shine forth with greater Glory, and display brighter Beams of Light, and Love than ever. We may pray that God would bless his Majesty with perfect Victory and Success, that he may set his Foot upon the Necks of his Enemies abroad, as well as at home: And that when he is settled with Peace round about, he may then think of God's House, how he may heal the Breaches and repair the Decays which Sin and Schism have made in the midst of it. That he would please to renew the Powers and Faculties to such reverend Fathers of the Church (if expired) as are best qualified to sew up the rent in the Sponser's Vail, and so promote the Peace and Glory of our Church. That he would please so far to interpose his Authority, as (in a legal way) to procure such Ease and Liberty in the scrupled part of Conformity, that the weary within the Church may be at rest: As also so wide a Door to those who are without, that if they will not enter, it may be truly said, that their exclusion is of themselves.

Obj.

But why do we make so great a noise about little things? Do we not know that small Alterations in Matters of Religion make great Distractions, and occasion high Convulsions in the Church. We pretend to desire, and aim at the Peace and Welfare of our *Jerusalem*; why do we not then endeavour to promote it, by a quiet Submission to its Orders and Decrees?

Ref.

1<sup>st</sup>. They are indeed little things, comparative to the Power and Authority of the Church to redress the Grievances of those who are weary and heavy laden.

2<sup>dly</sup>, Admit they be small, yet 'tis a very great Flame those little Sparks have kindled in the Breasts, and Minds of many Pious and Conscientious Men: A Mote is but a little thing ('tis true) but if got into the Eye of Conscience, it causeth Rivers of Tears to run down by reason of it, nor can the Apple of it ever cease.

As to our Duty of preventing Disturbance, and preserving Peace and Union in the Church. May our Indulgence be measured by our constant Endeavours to avoid the one and maintain the other: We have with Patience submitted, not for Wrath, but Conscience sake, to the Commands of our Superiors: We have bowed the Neck to an uneasy Yoke, earnestly supplicating the Divine Majesty to send a *Moses* to deliver us from those Burthens, which we have received so many Solemn and Royal Promises should never oppress nor grieve us, whilst we behaved our selves peaceably under the Civil Government and Constitutions of the Land.

But here I thought to have made a stand, and have eased both the Reader and my self of any further trouble and fatigue in the Prosecution and Pursuit of this unpleasant Argument, were I not press't with the Reason of another most just Plea for a Relaxation and Abatement in the Matters aforesaid; which I had thought to have omitted, lest it should appear too invidious as to others, and too opiniative of our selves: I mean our Fidelity to the Interest, and Constancy in the Communion of the Church, in the late Times of Defection and Apostacy, when both by Threatnings and Flatteries we were so strongly tempted to make a Breach in it. When the Declaration for Indulgence was commanded to be publiht by us in our Churches, we did not, we durst not submit, though we thereby forfeited the Favour, and eminently incurred the Displeasure of a Potent Monarch bigotted to the Romish Religion, in whose Hands we were, and to be used by him at his Pleasure.

We could have very much rejoiced in a due Enlargement; but we rather kept within our Inclosure, than brake the Hedges and lay the Fences waste to obtain it: I mean a general Violation of the Canons and Rubricks of the Church, the enacted Laws and Statutes of the Commonwealth: Relying in the mean time upon the Goodness and Providence of God, wholly submitting our selves to his Will, hoping that he would so far move the Hearts of our Rulers in due time, and in a regular way to hear our Complaints, and redress our Grievances: And that which puts weight into this Ballance is that too many of those who

clamoured high, and made (a) a great noise for Conformity to the Rituals of the Church, baiting and bantering any whom they supposed guilty of the least defect, and omission of their Duty in that respect, accounting themselves the white Boys, and only Sons of the Church, yet were the first that turn'd colour, and became Red-letter'd Men (divers of which both of the Clergy and Laity I could name, but I spare them) and are at this day living and looking for a day to retrieve their lost Cause: They still retaining those Spots, and Crimson Tincture they received from the Scarlet whore, which they resolve no Nitre either of Scripture or Reason shall ever take out: Whilst such as they accounted, and traduced as Betrayers of our Church, stuck close, maintain'd their Posts, and in the day of Tryal proved faithful and true to its Interest.

(a) Who were fierce Despisers of those that were good heady high-minded Traytors, having a Form of Godliness, but denying the Power of it, 2 Tim. 3.

We continued constant in the Exercise of our Ministry, fortifying our People committed to our Care, using the best Arguments we could (joined with our own Examples) to continue in the Communion of our Church, and to stand fast in the open and zealous Professions and Defence of the Faith once delivered to the Saints; comforting, and (to the best of our skill) building them up in it, notwithstanding the Threats and Menaces we met with, from the profest and rampant Enemies of our Church and Religion.

But lest this should look like boasting, I shall say no more, but leave the Argument to be considered by our Superiors, according to the Merits of it.

As for those who in the Day of Temptation went out from us, because they were not of us, we heartily pity and pray for them, and for their seduction to the Communion from whence they departed, that they would be zealous and repent, considering from whence they are fallen and return: For which Reason we should be willing to use all the Weapons of our Spiritual Warfare: And they are so happy as to fall into an Age, and Hands, which design no other, we being sufficiently convinc'd, that a Club may sooner dash a Man's Brains out, than beat Understanding into his Head.

Only

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

Only first give me leave to enquire who were the best Sons of the Church of *England*, and deserve most at her hands: Whether those who when time was were great Sticklers for Conformity in the strictest manner to all and every of its Rites: Great Amorists, and much in love with our Church and Religion, whilst it lookt plump, and fair to the Eye: But when the Hand of the Lord had toucht it, and was become black by reason of Affliction, shrunk and shrivell'd upon the account of its Sorrow, forsook their first Love. Then their Language was, What is thy Beloved more than another Beloved? What's the Church of *England* more than that of *Rome*? Whether I say were these better Sons of the Church than those, who though perhaps not so exactly satisfied with all and every thing that's enjoined, yet brake not the Communion of it? But buckling on the Helmet, and being girt about with Truth, were steddily and valliant in her most dangerous Conflict.

The other are fit to be Members of that Church, whereof outward Prosperity is the Mark and Character; who so long as ours was triumphant, it had no greater pretended Votaries and Zealots than themselves: But these Dive-dopping Plant-Animals, dropping from the Tree upon which they grew, and falling into the Waters of *Tiber*, or Sea of *Rome*, presently set up for *Solon-geese*, mightily gagling for their espoused Religion: Who having learnt the Romish Cant from their new Dictators, we are ridiculed and lampooned by them in every *Tavern* and *Coffee-house*, the bottom of whose Dishes and Glasses they better understood than the Reason of their Change, and new-fashioned Religion. Then they had the Face and Brow to tell us, that the Church they once so much clamoured for, was till an Age or two past a *Duck under water*: By whom the first (and trite) question we were usually interrogated upon was, Where was your Religion before *Luther*? To which we have answered a thousand times, and can truly say again, that the Platform of it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, which is the only Rule of Faith, and tried Foundation upon which our Religion is built: 'Twas instituted by Christ, practised in the Primitive Church, though Tares grew up in the Field; I mean Corruptions in the Bosom of it; and what could not be amended, or endured were necessary to be avoided: For we can find (whatever these Antiquaries may boast of) no Foundation for Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, or in a Tongue the People understand nor, no Warrant to direct them to Saints as the Object, no Exemption of the Blessed Virgin from original Sin, or Communion celebrated by halves, or in one kind, &c. In all that which must be the Rule of our Faith and Worship: From the beginning these things were not so. Now if our Religion agree with the Primitive Rule of Faith, and Practice of the most ancient Church, 'tis I am sure before theirs; which hath been often made appear by the best Records of Antiquity, and Evidences of Scripture: So that we are  
at



at no loss to tell them, where our Church was before *Luther*, and Religion we profess, though it was sometimes *Subterranea*, and forc'd to hide it self in the Cleits of the Rocks; our *Duck* (if they will have it so) was sometimes fain to dive, being often hunted and pursued by the *Romish Spaniels*, those insatiable Blood-hounds. We can very well tell where our Religion was of old (which is that which Christ planted and delivered to the Saints:) But alas, like the Spouse fallen into ill hands, which wounded her, and took her Vail from her, yea deflowred and defiled her: But it hath pleased God to deliver her, and save her, and us too out of the hands of our Enemies, that we might serve him more purely. In short, Christ was both the Author and Finisher of our Faith, not *Luther* nor *Calvin*, though we are very much obliged to them for putting us in a way to cleanse the Vessels of our Sanctuary, and scowre off the Rust they had contracted.

But if Antiquity be necessary to legitimate the Doctrine of Faith, what was the *Romish* Faith; I mean their new framed Articles in their first Edition? Particularly that main Point of it, viz. The Pope's Supremacy, which the (a) Council of *Lateran* first cast and moulded into an Article of Faith making the Belief of it necessary to Salvation: This was decreed in the very same Year, that *Luther* began to assault *Rome*, as *Scultetus* observes, I chose to instance in this (though divers other of their Doctrines have no great Plea to Antiquity;) because several of our late Converts have (when time was) laugh'd us to scorn, and thought us extremely at their Mercy if they did not hiss us out of our place, for placing a Supremacy in the Chief Magistrate. What say they, *Must the Son be Head of the Mother, the Child Superintendent to the Parent?* According to this Divinity they make the Blessed Virgin to have a Command over her Son. As thou art a \* Mother command thy Son: But this is a piece of Popery which seems destructive of it self, for Christ to be sure was the undoubted Head of the Church, and to have one higher than the highest, and Power to command him, is neither good Sense nor Divinity: But I never designed to have entred upon any thing of this nature, if the Clamours of such as turned *Renegado's* to our Church; (the Pinacles of whose Temples they were once over-zealous for had not occasioned it) whom I am apt to believe could they have foreseen, that their Temptations to have deserted the Church of *England* would have been so great; and that their Reign after their Conversion to *Rome* would have proved so short, would not have been such Zealots against those who in some things dissented from the first; nor so dogmatical and pert in asserting the Supremacy of the latter: Which *Gregory* the Great, though Bishop of that See, was so far from pretending to, that he declared it was a Sign of Antichrist for any other

(a) *Lat. Coun. Sess. 11. Dat. Rom. 1516. 14. Cal. Jan. cum de necessitate salutis existeret omnes Christi fideles Romano Pontifici subesse Scult. Ann. 1516.*

\* *Jure matris impera redimprobi.*



(\*) At which Synod St. Augustine was present and subscribed with his own hand.

(4) The Milan Synod decreed the same thing.

(b) St. Augustine and St. Jerome affirmed, that the Rock of the Church was Christ, or St. Peter's Confession. But Stapleton saith, they were mistaken. For the Monk did not think so, who saith, that *fides Christiana & veritas Evangelica firma & inconvulsa est petra illa*. In Matth. Cardinal Cusanus makes all the Apostles equal in Power and Dignity.

to claim it. When Boniface, Sozimus and Celestine sent to the Council of (\*) Carthage to make challenge of it, alledging the Sixth Canon of the general Council of Nice, the Fathers of that Synod sent him word, that they having only a Latin Copy by them, in which they found no such Canon, took the pains to send to Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople to procure and consult the Greek Copies: But found nothing in the least favouring their demands, and therefore wrote to Celestine, that seeing no such thing was to be found in the Acts of Nice, they desired him for the time to come to acquiesce, denouncing to him that they would not suffer any cause either great or small to be carried out of their Country by way of (a) appeal, for which they had better Authority from the Council of Nice, than the Bishops of Rome for their Supremacy, which defined that all Matters should be determinable in the Province, and decreed the Patriarchs should be chief within their Precincts, viz. The Bishop of Antioch in the East, the Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the Bishop of Rome, about Rome. He that reads the Epistles of Cyprian will find him no way favouring the Supremacy, or universal Superintendency of the Roman Bishop; nay in that *ad Quintinum* he argues expressly against it: His Words are, *Nam nec Petrus quem primum dominus elegit, & super quem edificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum Paulus de circumcissione post modum discepsaret, vendicavit sibi aliquid insolenter aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se Primatum tenere, & obtemperari à novellis, & posteris sibi potius oportere, Cypr. ad Quint.* St. Peter did not (saith he) defend himself against St. Paul, when he contended with him, by alledging his Supremacy, and that all succeeding Bishops were to bow before him, and obey him. (b) But what need we any further Proof or Witnesses against our Adversaries, whilst they are *adversariis nostris*, and may be condemned out of their own Mouths, *Fatentes habemus reos*. Did not Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, forswear and deny with an Oath the Supremacy of Rome, and declare *ex animo*, or *ex mero motu*, freely and frankly that that Bishop had no Jurisdiction nor Power over the Church and Realm of England. In pursuance and proof whereof he wrote his Book of *Verâ Obedientiâ*, in which he defended the Supreme Power of Kings, and his own Practice, instancing in Solomon, who according to his Father's appointment ordained the Offices of the Priests in their Ministries, and Levites in their Orders: To this he adds the Example of *H Ezekias*, 2 Chron. 29. 5, 6, &c. Aron (he saith) obey'd Moses, and Solomon gave Sentence against Abiathar the High Priest: To this Book Edm. Bonner, Bishop of London wrote an Epistle, recommending the Work to the perusal of all that loved the Truth; where he calls the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in England, *falsely pretended*, and that it was most justly abrogated

abrogated by the King, that all other Bishops were in their Function equal to him, and in their Provinces, in many things above him. More of this may be seen, and the Supremacy of Rome learnedly, and rationally disproved in a Letter writ to Cardinal Pool by *Cuthbert Tunstall*, Bishop of *Duresme*, and *John Stokesly*, Bishop of *London*. Acts and Monuments, Vol. 2. pag. 289. Edit. 1684. Which Doctrine was so generally owned, that it was subscribed by one and twenty Bishops, eight Arch-Deacons, seventeen Doctors of Divinity, and of both Laws.

That was a forc'd put only to comply with the Genius of an Headstrong Prince, and Humour of the time.

Obj.

It hath been formerly promised, that the Priests Lips should preserve Knowledge, but now it seems they served for another purpose, viz. to preserve their Bishopricks, but the Scriptures they cited, the Reasons they urged, the Judgment and Sense of the Fathers they alledged, are still the same in all Ages and Reigns, whatever the Persons be that used them; And why may we not as well believe these Men to speak truth, when they did it to please their Prince and save their Livings, as when they recanted it to recover them? especially when we consider the Reason of their Arguments, more than the design of them. What they said, and not why they spake it, for though Men, *Camelion* like, may turn colour, yet the Truth is of a better Stain than to fade at any time, or upon any account. The like Instance we have in the Case of the Pope's Supremacy above a general Council. *Aeneas Sylvius* was once zealous to assert the Superiority to be in the latter, and wrote the History of the Council of *Basil*, in which he frequently proves the same: But being promoted to the Papacy, and changing his Name to *Pius 2dus*. he changed his Opinion also, recanting his former Positions, and caused his (a) Bull of Retractions, to be published to the whole World. Thus when the Gale of Pre-ferment blew stiff, this Weathercock soon turned head: So zealous was he once for the Peace and Unity of the Church, that he wrote to (b) *Gasper Schlick*, Chancellor of the Emperor, that Princes might send their Orators, and make Conventions whether the Pope approve of them or not: But when he was Pope himself he quarrelled with *Diotherus*, Arch-bishop of *Mentz* and Prince Elector, because he would call the Electors together without his License. Good God! if Truth be as shifting, as these who highly pretend to it, we may be at a greater loss than *Pilate*, to know what it is, or where to find it. But whither have we run after these Dive-doppers? who have the Confidence to expose, and ridicule the Church which they pretended once to adore; and that till *Luther's* days 'twas a Duck under

Ref.

(a) *Retractionumque nullam edidit, quam ad rectorem & Scholam Coloniensem misit & in-vulgari jussit toto orbe terrarum inquit Gasper Card. indisput. ad-versus Protes.*

(b) See Acts and Monuments, Vol. 1. p. 807. Edit. 1684.

## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

*water*: But thank God we have lived to see them dived too, and hope we shall never live to see them lift their Heads above water with the former Insult and Insolence, like *Spaniels* to hunt and bark at that *Duck*, which was once the only *Phoenix* with them, and Bird of Paradise. But I shall concern my self no further with them, only give me leave to tell these Philosophers that 'tis a known Experiment, that if you cut a Leg or Limb from a *Duck* it in a little time corrupts into a Toad. *Mutato nomine de vobis fabula narratur.* You were once Limbs and Members of that Body, under the Shadow of whose Wings you shrowded and sheltered your selves, till by turning Apostates and Renegado's, your decrying the Faith, which once you profest you sufficiently evidenced what Poison of Asps was under your Lips, and made it easie to guess from whence you were fallen, and into what you were transformed.

Time was when the Church of England was all their cry, a Dove whose Voice was sweet and Countenance was comely; ready to pick and joll at every one who admired not her gay Feathers and gilded Plumes: Then her Wings were covered with Silver, and her Feathers with yellow Gold: But so soon as her Wings were clipt, and Feathers grew sick, and was hunted like a Partridge in the Wilderness, this glorious Bird was accounted no better than an Owl in the Desert, at which they hiss, and hooted: Now they renounce its Orders, despise its Sacraments, turn up their Noses at its Worship, whilst those who were traduced by them for false Brethren, and spurious Sons of the Church (when all these things were in vogue with them) did in the time of its peril and distress preach up and defend its Doctrine, were frequent in the Administration of its Sacraments, kept close to its Communion, and stedfast to its Interest. We hope therefore it being (by the good Providence of God) come again into its Kingdom, and restored to all its Powers and Authority, that they shall be remembred (and not forgotten, as *Joseph* was by the chief Buttlar after his Restoration, 40 Gen. 23.) That their Yoak may be made more easie, and burthen-light: Nay they have not been only faithful to the Church, but are true to the State too: Time was when they were represented at Court, as no Friends to *Cæsar*, and that it was not for the King's profit to suffer them: But now their Crime is, they are of excessive Loyalty, and too fond of their Prince. But can we love him too well, who seeing the Nation sinking, or in a violent Storm, labouring for Life, cast himself into those mighty Waters, resolving either to sink with it, or save it? which he effectually did: Who when the Breach was made in our Bank, and the See of Rome (I mean Popery) breaking in a main upon us, like *Moses* stood in the Gap, stopt the Torrent, drained the Church, and hath made it once again *terra firma*. Time was when Judgment ran down as Waters, but they were very bitter, and and Righteousness as a mighty Stream, but like an overflowing Scourge bore down Justice, and common Right before it; for Judgment was turned

turned into Gall, and the Fruit of Righteousness into Wormwood; which occasioned many bitter Cries and Complaints among us : But now our *Sion* is redeemed with Judgment, and her Converts with Righteousness. Now we have no Youths from *Dorset* or *St. Omers* to confront the Truth, or support a Lye : No awing of Judges, packing of Juries, or forcing of Verdicts. We have found a Prince that seeks Judgment and relieves the oppressed, and can we then be too fond, can we love him too well ? Who by the Councel and Consent of Parliament hath eased our Protestant Brethren without the Church, yea hath framed a Project to remove the Grievances of those which are within too, having granted Powers and Commissions, to many wise and worthy Members of it to review our Liturgy, to inspect our Ecclesiastical Polity, to remove the Stumbling-blocks, and to take away the Rocks of offence, to the uniting both in the same Communion, and common Interest ( which 'tis highly probable it might in time effect ;) and may he never give over till he hath perfected the Work, and cut it short in Righteousness. How then can we but love him, yea and most earnestly pray for him ? that God would bless him at home and abroad, by Sea and Land, in Peace and War, that his Head may be covered in the Day of Battel, that no Weapon form'd against him may prosper, that he may put an Hook into the Nostrils, and Bridle into the Mouth of that great Oppressor, who would lay House to House, Field to Field, till there be no room left upon the Earth ; That he may return home with triumph, when he shall have restored Liberty, and procured Right to be done to the distressed Princes and States of *Europe* ; as he hath already done for the People of *England*, to which all honest Men, and true *English* Men will say. *Amen.*

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# ADVICE

## TO THE

# DISSENTERS.

**B**UT before I lay my Pen down, may I assume the liberty a little, to argue and expostulate with you our Dissenting Brethren and Friends; I bear you record you have a Zeal of God, which I wish may never want the just Measures of Sincerity, Truth and Knowledge: But when I observe in you a total Separation and universal Departure from our Communion; and yet not only to allow our Communion but further it in others; yea in Matters of greatest scruple in some urgent cases practice it your selves, it is a thing too hard for me. I have known some who have suffered themselves to be deprived both of their Offices and Benefices by the *Bartholomew Act*, yet have sent their Children to our Universities, where the strictest Conformity is used, and injoin'd the Members of those Societies; yea have afterwards put them into the Priest's Office, which for Conscience sake they could not submit to execute themselves. Many have been elected into places of Magistracy, and other Employments, and how stanch soever they have been before and after: Yet to avoid the Dirt and Penalty of the Law, have given a yieldance to the Commands, and Authority of the Church, submitting to those Rites, which at other times they scruple, yea renounce. But why do you condemn your selves in the things you can upon occasion admit? Can you dispense with your Consciences to serve a turn? Doth not this justify the Practice of our Romish Adversaries, who can license themselves to take Oaths, to hold a Conformity with the Church, or dissemble a Compliance to cheat their Rulers, and avoid the Dirt and Penalty of the Law? If you can conform, and hold Communion with the Church in Praying, Hearing and Receiving the Holy Sacrament, &c. for the Preservation of your selves? Why not then for the Preservation of Peace, and Unity in the Church? I need not tell you how mischievous a thing Schism is, or how deep a Stain, and guilt it leaves behind it upon the Conscience. Is it not a positive and plain Command to be subject to the higher Powers, to submit to every Ordinance of Man for the

the Lord's sake? *Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta patrum qui leges juraque servat.*

So we do, and will where we can do it with a good Conscience; But would you have us offend God, and rouse the sleeping Lion in our own Breasts which will tear us in pieces, when there's none can deliver us? Obj.

By no means, but is it a Sin to do it at one time, and none at another? Does the Case alter with your Convenience, and change with the Persons? Is it lawful for the Children to obey, where it is a Sin for the Parents to comply? Brethren, I beseech you judge righteous Judgment, Why should you open the Mouths of your Adversaries, and justify their Reproaches? *viz.* That your dissent is nothing but Faction and Humor, a Spirit of Disobedience and Contradiction, but nothing of Conscience, whatever may be pretended, as is by you sufficiently proved, when you come to the pinch. I do not speak this to reflect upon you, but as my beloved Friends, to warn you; if God be God then follow him, if *Baal* be God follow him. The Case of Conscience and Matter before us will not turn colour with the Circumstances of your Condition: Your Streights and Extremities do not make that lawful, which your Liberty and Freedom make sinful: I do not take the Case in hand, to alter with our State, or like a Dove's Neck to change colour according to its Site and Position: The various Reflexion of Light may cause different Colours, but Truth never varies its hue; 'tis *ubique eadem*, and is it not an inexcusable thing to commit a deliberate sinful act, merely to secure our Stake, and to preserve our worldly Interest: We may hereby perhaps avoid Punishment from Men, -but how shall we escape God's righteous Judgments? Ref.

Would you then that we should never upon any occasion conform nor hold Communion with the Church? Obj.

I would never have you sin to avoid suffering; and to act against the Judgment and Dictates, though but of an opening Conscience is no less: But perhaps I have driven this Nail too far, and may become your Enemy for pressing this unpleasing Truth. But if I have spoken ill bear witness against me, and convince me of it, let the Righteous smite me, and it shall be a kindness. If well, Why should you be offended? Ought you not to be constant to your selves and Principles? Ref.

But I find some to have put a more favourable Gloſs and Sense upon your occasional Conformity, *viz.* that you do it not in opposition to your Judgments, nor Dictates of your Consciences, thereby to indemnify your selves from the Penalty of the Law, but that you could hold a more frequent (perhaps constant) Communion with the Church in her Holy Offices, had you not an eminent Addiction to one sort, and Aversness to another sort, or party of Men, which seems to have as great an antipathy to each other, as Naturalists tell us, there is in the Blood of a Bat and



## A Plea for Abatement in Matters of

and Swallow, which will not mix tho' they be put into the same Vessel together; were the inveterate Spleen and Animosities upon all accounts (vented against Persons) allaid, I am confident there would be such Abate-ments on the one side, and Compliances on the other, that the Protestant Communion and Interest would be all of a piece, and Schism no longer find a room to fix the Sole of her Foot upon.

But for this we must earnestly direct our Prayers to him who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hand, and that turns them like the Rivers of Water; to him that makes Men to be of one mind in an House. It was the Observation of the Protestant Reconciler, that it was the great Sin of the Conformists, that they did not do what they might have done when they had a Power for Composing the Differences amongst us. And is it not the Sin of such as dissent, not to do what they may, and have done occasionally *pro hic & nunc*, to serve themselves and secure their Interest, for the attaining an higher End, and more eminent Purposes? *viz.* healing the Breaches, and curing that inveterate Distemper, I mean the Schism which hath so often disturbed the Peace, and raised Confusions in the Church.

*Obj.*

How can we comply and correspond with such as hate us? Can we walk together with those that never will agree with us? 'Tis true, we are upbraided for standing out, when at the same time they are glad, and loath we should come in. When it was complained of to a great Bishop in *Charles* the II's time, that it was to be feared that the Act of Uniformity would be drawn up so strict, that not many of the Presbyterians would conform, his answer was, He was afraid they would.

Besides the Treatment of those who have submitted to it have been such, as affords little invitation to others to come over into the Tents of the Church of *England*, whilst they have been accounted, and used by the Conformists as false Brethren, who came in merely to spy out their Liberty, and betray their Church; upon which account they are disre-spected and slied, nay many times despitefully used; they watching for their halting, and glad when they stumble, that they may fall into their hands, and be used by them at their pleasure: But not one Hair from their Heads would they part with to render the Yoak of Conformity easie, or gratifie those that have been tender of the Peace and Unity of the Church.

*Ref.*

Do they hate you? then observe the Royal Law and Rule of our Sa-viour, love those that hate you. Don't they love you? Let me ask you, Is there any Love lost on either side? Is not the distance of Affection the same on both sides? I am afraid 'tis as far from *Athens* to *Thebes*, as 'tis from *Thebes* to *Athens*. If we love only those that love us, what reward have we? Let us heap Coals of Fire upon their Heads, 'tis the only way  
to

so melt them, and force them to say, as *Saul to David*, *You are more Righteous than we*: As for such who for Conscience sake have made no breach, but have held Communion with the Church, and yet have notwithstanding been lookt a squint upon, that ought not to discourage you, nor turn away their Faces, or make them to despair of some reasonable Relaxation in Matters of Conformity; For the righteous Lord loves Righteousness, his Countenance does behold the upright: But perhaps the appointed time of our Vision is not yet come; and therefore we will wait for it, for it will come and not tarry: In the mean time lets go on and build God's House with as much care, and diligence as we can, whatever Discouragements we may meet with from the *Tobiases* and *Sanballats* that may rise up against us. Let us bear the Indignation of the Lord, because we have sinned against him, for he will plead our Cause and execute Judgment for us. Let us pray, that he would turn the Faces of our Brethren towards us, that we may live in Peace and Love together, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with us.

But this is a Lamentation, and must be for a Lamentation that Fire is gone out of our Branches, that we still quarrel and fall out by the way for Matters of no higher value, and greater figure in Religion than some appendant Rites and retained Ceremonies of Worship; nor can we without regret observe how wide a Cleft those smaller Wedges have occasioned (when they have been fiercely driven) in the Beams of our own Timber.

The Dispute and Conference which was betwixt *Arcicetus*, Bishop of *Rome*, and *Polycarpe*, concerning divers Usages and Customs of their Churches; particularly that great-make Bate, the time of celebrating *Easter*, it was so managed as not to make any distance betwixt them: But though it was concluded each Church should retain and practice their own Rites, and observe their own Customs, yet they did not break off their Fellowship, but received the Sacrament together, and held a friendly Communion one with the other. Whilst Pope *Victor*, (as *Irenaeus* relates) more stiffly insisting on, and urging the Practices of the *Roman* See upon other Churches, they became as remote and distant from each other, as the *East* is from the *West* in affection, as well as Situation.

There was also in *Cyprian's* time a great Question which much exercised the Primitive Church, viz. Whether Hereticks ought to be rebaptized before they were admitted to Church-Fellowship; to determine which *St. Cyprian* calls a Council at *Carthage*, who together with the rest of his Brethren gave their Opinions, that they ought not to be admitted into the Church without being rebaptized; yet with so much indulgence and allowance to others, as not to judge or censure them, but to hold Communion with such as were otherwise minded; *Super est ut de*

(a) *Sententia*  
*Episcoporum*  
*de hereticis*  
*baptizandis.*  
*Opera Cyp.*  
*339. Impress.*  
*bâc Basil. 1521.*

*hæc re quid singuli sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure  
 Communione aliquem si diversum senserit amovendes.* And could we but  
 once come to be guilty of that Error which the Primitive Christians  
 were charged with, *viz.* of loving one and other *(b)* too well, we might  
 yet maintain an holy Correspondence and Fellowship each with other,  
 taking sweet Council together, and going to the House of God in Com-  
 pany, notwithstanding any Religious Rites in debate amongst us.

*(b)* Minutius  
 Felix's Dialo-  
 gue betwixt  
 Octavius and  
 Cecilius.

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F I N I S.

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